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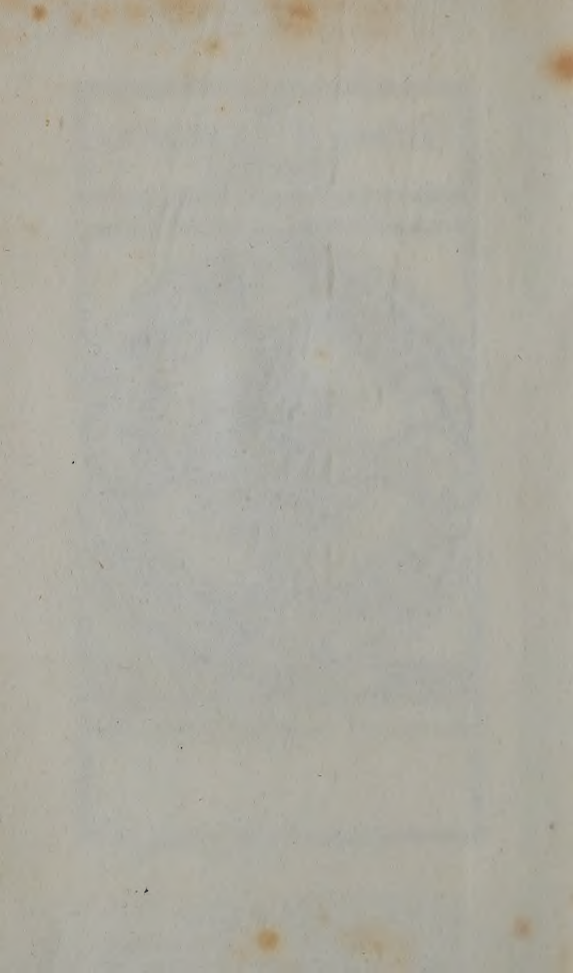
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HISTORY

CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

BY THE
REV. MICHAEL ROSS, LL.D.

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HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.

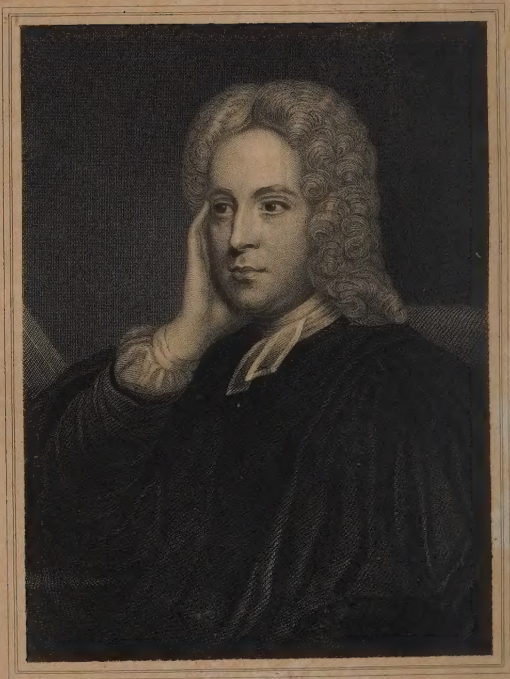
BY THE
REV. MICHAEL RUSSELL, LL.D.

AUTHOR OF THE CONNEXION OF SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY &c.

VOL. I.

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HISTORY

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THE early annals of the Church in Scotland are deeply shaded with the obscurity which surrounds all inquiries carried beyond the age of authentic records. As the Gospel was received in that country long before the possession of literature had taught the people the value of written monuments, or had suggested to them the manifold advantages of preserving the recollection of opinions and usages, the historian searches in vain for such facts as would enable him to illustrate the first missionary labours northwards of the Tweed, or to determine the period at which the foundations of Christianity were laid among the natives. The light and civilization which the Romans diffused around their camps appear to have spread but slowly in the more distant parts of the island, where the severer climate and the savage character of the inhabitants presented a formidable bar to the progress of their arms. No Gildas arose among the Britons of Caledonia to bewail the downfall of their ancient power and the triumph of their enemies; and, accordingly, if we except the brief notices supplied by Tacitus, Dio, and Tertullian, we owe all our knowledge of the primitive state of Scotland to the chroniclers of a much later period. A deceitful tradition occupies the place of written

narrative, during more than a thousand years after the religion of Christ was publicly professed in most of the provinces on this side of the Grampian range.

The uncertainty which is inseparable from all conclusions relative to an epoch so destitute of original authorities is, in the present case, very much increased by the mistaken zeal of authors, who, in order to support their several views of national origin, or of ecclesiastical forms, have converted one of the darkest portions of history into a field of the most unprofitable contention. In regard to civil affairs, for example, the curiosity of the reader is met by a catalogue of kings, who are said to have assumed the government of the Scots more than three hundred years before the reign of Augustus Cæsar; and by an assertion, that the same people took possession of the lands which they have ever since occupied, at the precise juncture when Alexander the Great completed his conquests in the east by the reduction of Babylon. When, on the other hand, he attempts to investigate the progress of religion, he is assured that the believers of the north exhibited in the constitution of their Church, and in the administration of their sacred rites, a peculiarity which, for many centuries afterwards, remained entirely unknown or neglected throughout all the other parts of Christendom. In a word, it cannot be concealed that the heroic age in Scotland, or the space allotted to fable, extended to a period comparatively recent. Five hundred years have yet hardly passed away since the first native history was written; which, as might be expected, is found to embody not a few of the roman-

tic fictions that had floated down the stream of popular tradition.

With respect to the events which compose the matter of history, as it appears among all barbarous tribes—their battles, inroads, stratagems, and truces—we may indulge the same easy belief, in favour of the Caledonian bards, that we are wont to extend to the priests and poets of ancient Rome, Etruria, and Memphis. Even in regard to a long list of princes, although we might regret the utter impossibility of throwing any light on the order of their succession or the length of their reigns, we should not feel ourselves at liberty to pronounce the vulgar persuasion altogether groundless. Such historical fragments are usually admitted to a certain extent, and with due limitations, because they are supported by the analogy of human affairs in every climate, and under all the forms that society is known to have assumed. But when our attention is drawn to customs or institutions which do not appear to arise from the circumstances wherein we find a particular people placed, the exercise of scepticism becomes perfectly allowable; inasmuch as the fact we contemplate being separated from the operation of general laws, must be supposed to imply something beyond the ordinary course of nature. The poetry and declamation, for instance, which are lavished on fabulous dynasties and imaginary triumphs, we pass over as the customary display of that childish vanity which characterizes more or less the rude condition of all nations. But no sooner do we read that the Christians of North Britain in the sixth century, who, in all other respects, were like the

men of the same age, differed from the universal Church in certain points of doctrine and ecclesiastical polity, than our path is encumbered with doubt. We find ourselves unable to proceed, with a suitable degree of confidence, until we have either ascertained that the alleged peculiarity is without foundation, or accounted for the singular posture of affairs whence it must have had its rise. In all such cases, it is the exception which demands inquiry; and, in proportion as the discrepancy is striking, our belief demands a firmer basis and a more convincing evidence.

It belongs not to the present undertaking to make any attempt to trace the origin of the Christian faith in the British islands at large. Several learned authors have collected from the volumes of the early Church historians a variety of notices which give an air of probability to the opinion, that the seed of the Divine word was sown in these remote lands either by the Apostles themselves, or by certain individuals, who had derived their knowledge from the same fountain of inspired truth. It is sufficient for our purpose to observe, that the means which were employed by Providence for the conversion of the Southern Britons, performed a similar good office for those in the North; including, in the latter description, the inhabitants of that extensive province which stretched from the Humber to the firths of Forth and Clyde. Nor can it be necessary to add that, as the Romans did not all at once push their conquests into the remoter division of the kingdom, the benefits of religion and of letters could not

have been received there so soon as in the territories which are washed by the Thames and the Severn¹.

Fordun places the conversion of the Scots in the year 203, at which time a certain intercourse is supposed to have taken place between King Donald and Pope Victor, who then occupied the Roman See. The latter, in answer to an application said to have been made to him by this pious monarch, sent a number of clergymen into Caledonia, who forthwith proceeded to instruct and baptize the natives. But this statement, even assuming the existence of the sovereign in question, is perplexed by so many inconsistencies in point of date, that it has been generally rejected even by those historians who otherwise would have been happy to discover in it a foundation, on which to rest the claim of Papal supremacy².

¹ For a full account of the opinions entertained in regard to the introduction of the Christian faith into the British isles, we take leave to refer to Usher's "*Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*;" the "*Origines Britannicæ*" of Stillingfleet; Bishop Lloyd's "*History of the Government of the Church as it was in Great Britain and Ireland, &c.*;" the Bishop of St. David's "*Tracts on the Origin and Independence of the Ancient British Churches*;" and Dr. Hales's *Essay on the "Origin and Purity of the Primitive Church of the British Isles."* These works contain copious references to the more ancient authors.

² The notice given by Fordun is as follows:—"In the seventh year of the Emperor Severus, Victor, the first of the name, and fourteenth after St. Peter, an African, and son of a certain Felix, sat in the Papal chair ten years, two months, and twelve days. Under him the Scots received the Christian faith in the year of

It is therefore admitted on all hands that nothing certain is known respecting the introduction and progress of the Christian faith in the country now called Scotland, till nearly the middle of the fifth century, when Palladius was sent from Rome by Pope Cælestine, to extirpate the Pelagian heresy which had already taken root in several parts of Britain. The authority for this fact is found in the Chronicle of Prosper Aquitanus, a contemporary writer, who relates that his Holiness dispatched the pious man, just named, to the Scots who believed in Christ, as their spiritual guide and first bishop ¹.

The information thus communicated by Prosper has assumed an extraneous importance from the commentaries of Fordun and later writers, who assert not only that the Gospel was originally propagated in Scotland by Presbyters, but also that episcopacy, including every species of prelatical distinction, was utterly unknown there, until the arrival of Palladius. Hence, it has been inferred by the enemies of this species of ecclesiastical government, that Bishops and Popery made their entrance at the same time, corrupting the simplicity of a purer and more ancient

our Lord 203." He then quotes the following well-known verses—

"Christi transactis tribus annis atque ducentis,
Scotia Catholicam cœpit habere fidem:
Româ Victore primo Papa residente;
Principe Severo martyr et occubuit."

Scotichron. lib. ii. c. 40.

¹ Chron. Temp. p. 26: "Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Cœlestino Palladius primus episcopus missus est." See also Scotichron. lib. iii. c. 8. Bed. Hist. lib. i. c. 13. Marian. Scot. apud Rer. Germ. Scrip. tom. i. p. 636.

system. On the other side, an attempt has been made to prove that the clergyman, thus nominated by Cœlestine to the Scottish episcopate, was not the first prelate in point of time who officiated among the Northern Britons, but was simply the first in respect of rank ; being elevated, say the supporters of this hypothesis, to the primacy of the infant Church under the auspices of the Roman See. They remind us that it was usual with the Popes, when they sent Bishops to any nation where the Christian religion had been previously received, to invest them with authority over the other prelates of the country ; of which practice we have an example in the case of Augustine the monk, upon whom Gregory was pleased to bestow the primacy of England¹.

But, to a candid reader, nothing is more manifest than that neither party has arrived at a satisfactory conclusion ; and moreover, that the ground afforded by the statement of Prosper is much too narrow to support any general inferences as to the precise nature of the doctrine or discipline which prevailed in the north, prior to the fifth century. No one can doubt that the conversion of the remoter Britons must have been very gradual, and accomplished too, in many instances, by an inferior order of ministers, or even perhaps by pious laymen, employed in the service of the Roman government. In a country, of which the inhabitants were at once thinly scattered, and in a state of comparative bar-

¹ “ — cum quilibet eorum qui pro tempore fuerat, non tanquam primas, sed primus et præcipuus in regno habebatur.”
Scotichron. lib. vi. 26.

barism, the teaching of a new religion could not proceed on any such regular scheme as would imply the previous formation of a Church, or the appointment of clergy corresponding to those of a hierarchy, even on the most limited scale.

Even at the present day no one could determine positively with regard to the constitution of any particular Church, from the proceedings of its missionaries in foreign parts. Let it be supposed, for instance, that an historian of India, at the distance of five centuries hence, were desirous to form an opinion of the English Establishment from an examination of the circumstances under which her clergy officiated in that vast colony, from the reign of Queen Elizabeth down to the latter years of George III. Is it not certain that he would fall into the most glaring inaccuracies? From the separate and unconnected manner in which the several chaplains performed their duty, he might conclude that they were Independents or Congregationalists; and if no records remained to guide him to a full knowledge of the real facts, he would almost necessarily yield himself to the impression that the religion of Christ had been communicated to Hindoostan by an order of ministers to whom Bishops were altogether unknown. Two hundred years, he might assert, had revolved before any Protestant clergyman, above the rank of Presbyter, appeared on the banks of the Ganges; whence, with the utmost plausibility, he might proceed to the inference, not only that the founders of the Indian Church did not acknowledge a prelatical constitution, but even that the assumption of any degree of power higher than

what belongs to the ordinary priesthood must have been founded on usurpation and tyranny.

The conversion of the Britons, we may presume, was, in many respects, similar to that of Pagan nations in modern times ; and it cannot be surprising that a considerable period should have elapsed, more especially in the northern parts of the island, before the number of Christians became so great as to suggest the expediency of the measure to which Cœlestine is said to have had recourse. Admitting, then, that Palladius was the first Bishop among the Scots sent by the Pope to preside over their ecclesiastical affairs, no one would be justified in maintaining that the Presbyters, by whom the ignorant people had been called to the knowledge of Divine truth, were not members of an Episcopal Church. On the contrary, the friendly reception given to that personage, who came not only to purify their belief from the dregs of heresy, but also to invest their community with a regular form, seems to warrant the presumption, that the faithful were already prepared for such a visit, as well as disposed to submit to the authority on which it was made.

But, so scanty are the records, and so liable, at the same time, to a just suspicion in point of integrity, that no conclusion, founded merely on their authority, ought to be held of any weight in determining the question of Church government among the northern Britons. The very language of Fordun, the earliest of the Scottish historians, is extremely incorrect, and involves an important error, even in a simple matter of fact. He relates, that before the

arrival of Palladius, the Scots had for teachers of the faith and ministers of the sacraments presbyters only, or monks, who followed the rites of the primitive Church; not seeming to be aware that, at the remote period to which he attempts to carry back the imagination of his readers, there were no monks, of any description, in these western parts. But, notwithstanding this glaring proof of his ignorance, he is followed by a number of subsequent writers, who appear not to have thought it necessary to investigate the ground of any statement which had been made prior to their own times. Dempster is perhaps entitled to be considered as an honourable exception on this head; for though, generally speaking, he treads with too much confidence in the footsteps of Fordun and Boëce, he detected the anachronism just mentioned; remarking that, at the time under consideration, "there were no monks in the Western Church, nor could be any, the monks' rule being, formed long after."

It has been thought that the footing obtained by the Gospel during the ascendancy of the Romans, was not either very firm or extensive, even in the more civilized parts of the island. The better informed, it is true, received from their conquerors its sublime doctrines, and endeavoured to establish them on the ruins* of the Druidical system, which never enjoyed any favour in the eyes of the imperial commanders. But the mass of the people had not entirely relinquished their native superstition; on which account the heathen Jules and Angles, when they had overcome the unwarlike tribes who called them to their aid, soon obliterated all the more per-

manent traces of the Christian faith. Only one consecrated edifice erected by the Britons escaped the fury of the invaders, or the neglect of the native worshipper; and accordingly when our holy religion was revived, under the Anglo-Saxon Princes, it became necessary, not only to build houses for the service of God, but also to ordain a new order of clergymen for the administration of sacred rites. It is, in fact, the general opinion of historians that, between the extinction of the British kingdoms and the arrival of St. Augustine, the older hierarchy ceased to have any recognized existence among the inhabitants of the subjugated realms. The ecclesiastical government seems to have been destroyed with the national independence. The chieftains of British race either fled or perished in the field, and the greater portion of the peasantry, who found themselves compelled to submit to a change of masters, soon relapsed into those errors from which they had been very imperfectly reclaimed¹. Hence, it may be asserted, even in regard to England, that there is no history of the Church prior to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, unless we choose to class under that denomination the legends of monks and the biography of popular saints. What then must have been the condition of Scotland in the same obscure period, when knowledge was despised, and from which hardly the faintest glimmerings have reached our times? It was not till the beginning of the fifth century, that Ninian, who had spent the earlier portion of his life

¹ Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, p. 153.

on the Continent, preached the Gospel to the Southern Picts, and founded an episcopal see at Whitherne in the district of Galloway. No indigenous history conducts our steps into that distant age ; and, were it not for the occasional notices derived from the Venerable Bede, the events which marked the propagation of Christianity among the barbarians of the North, would have been as little known to modern authors as the origin of the Brahminical creed in central Asia.

There is reason, indeed, to believe that the ravages committed by the Saxons in the fertile plains of the South contributed not a little to the dissemination of evangelical truth along the Scottish border. The Cumbrian kingdom, which extended to the Firth of Clyde, received numbers of the fugitive Britons, many of whom, it is probable, passed over into Ireland, where neither the arms of the Romans nor the inroads of the German hordes, had as yet disturbed the tranquillity of the Church. Whatever degree of truth there may be in this conjecture, there can be no doubt it was from the latter country that the benefits of the Christian doctrine and sacraments were afterwards conveyed into the northern parts of this island. We allude, in particular, to the pious exertions of Columba, the Abbot of Iona, who migrating into Britain with his little college of monks, proved the happy means of diffusing the light of knowledge, not only over the wilds of Caledonia, but also among the various tribes, native and foreign, which at that time inhabited Lothian, Northumberland, and Yorkshire. It is likewise manifest, however limited our information may be with

regard to the epoch and the instruments, that the Britons, Picts, and Scots, on both sides of the Irish channel, received the Gospel in the same form, and associated with the same rites and opinions. The grounds of this conclusion will become perfectly clear to every reader who will take the pains to compare the tenets of these ancient converts, not only with one another, but with those which, in the sixth century, they were urged to substitute for them, by the disciples of the Romish Archbishop of Canterbury, the celebrated Augustine.

It is a fact well worthy of record, that the tide of knowledge and religion which had receded into the remote parts of Ireland and Caledonia before the face of the Pagan Saxons, was, by the wisdom of Providence, directed at a later period to flow back again over the land which it had deserted, and to prepare it for bringing forth much fruit. Hence, as will be immediately seen, arises the importance of the question which respects the official character of the clergy, and the form of church-government, that prevailed among the Scoto-Irish in the fifth and sixth centuries. Let it be observed, however, that the inquiry, at this stage, has no immediate connexion with a class of monks denominated Culdees, who afterwards spread over Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, and indeed wherever the Celtic language was spoken.

It has been remarked as an unfortunate characteristic of Scottish history, that every era has its own literary war; and, assuredly, there is no part of it to which this observation more strictly applies than to that on which we are about to enter. Were the import of the discussion, relative to the usages of

the Columban monks, confined to the country in which it had its origin, we should hesitate as to the propriety of introducing it in a work which professes to give only an outline of events, together with a brief summary of the doctrines which distinguished the successive ages of the Church in the northern section of the empire. But it will appear, that the conclusions, whatever they may be, to which we shall arrive, affect materially the ecclesiastical constitution of a large portion of England; it being certain, that the bishops and clergy who issued from the convent at Iona, exercised their official duties, and even renewed the foundations of the faith, in all the provinces northward of the Thames. Nor did this more extensive application of the argument escape the penetration of Blondell, Selden, Baxter, and other writers who attempted to undermine the foundations of episcopacy, viewed simply as the original form of church-government in the British Isles. The prelates, say they, who received their orders in the Columban monastery, were ordained by presbyters, and therefore could not themselves be of a higher rank; the title of Bishop being conferred upon them only in compliance with the prejudices of the people whom they were sent to instruct, or in deference to the more powerful body of ecclesiastics who already occupied the southern parts of the kingdom.

The main authority for the opinions now stated is to be found in the works of Bede, who remarks, that the island of Iona is wont to have for its governor a presbyter-abbot, to whose authority the whole pro-

vince, as well as the Bishops themselves, after an unusual manner, are bound to be subject ; following in this respect the example of its first Teacher, who was not a Bishop, but a presbyter and monk ¹.

From this meagre detail, it is not easy to determine either the exact limits of the subordination to which the Bishops were subjected, or the species of obedience that the Abbot was entitled to exact from what is here called the " province." As to the latter, we may perhaps discover in the words of the historian himself, a light to guide us through the labyrinth in which we are placed. He tells us that the monastery of Hy, the term by which he designates Iona, was for a long time supreme among nearly all the monasteries of the northern Scots or Irish, and among those of all the Picts, and directed the government of their inmates or people. An ordinary reader would conclude, that the authority which a parent convent exercised over such as had descended from it, must have been confined to the persons occupying their several houses, and to the enforcement of the duties which were imposed by their rule or institution. But certain writers, who appear determined to extract from the discipline of a Columban college the model of a Presbyterian church, maintain that the power of the Abbot, so far from being limited to the inhabitants of the several

¹ Habere enim solet ipsa insula rectorem semper Abbatem Presbyterum, cujus juri et omnis provincia, et ipsi etiam Episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius qui non episcopus sed presbyter extitit et monachus. *Hist. lib. iii. c. 4.*

monasteries, extended generally to the “ subjects of the Scottish and Pictish thrones ¹.”

In regard to the second point, namely, the description of holy orders received at Iona, we must have recourse to the same author, the Venerable Monk of Wearmouth, whose pages supply us with all the information that can now be obtained, in reference to the early intercourse between the Irish priests in that remote islet, and the Christian princes in the north of England. We there learn, that Oswald, who during the troubles which drove him from his throne, had sought refuge in the Hebridean convent, no sooner returned to his kingdom, than he solicited from his ghostly protectors the aid of a Bishop to instruct his people in the principles of the true belief. The first who was sent bore the name of Corman; but he, owing to the austerity of his manners, not being found acceptable, returned to the monastery, to give an account of his ill success. On this occasion, Aidan, one of the monks, pronounced a speech so full of wisdom, that, with one consent, the brethren resolved to appoint him to the vacant office, and forthwith proceeded to bestow upon him the requisite authority. “ The eyes of all who were in the assembly,” says the historian, “ were turned towards him; they diligently weighed what he said; and thinking him worthy of the Episcopate, they

¹ Monachus ipse Episcopus Aidan, utpote de insula quæ vocatur Hii, destinatus; cujus monasterium in cunctis pene Septentrionalium Scottorum, et omnium Pictorum monasteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat, regendisque eorum populis præerat. Bed. Hist. lib. iii. c. 3. Jameson's Historical Account of Ancient Culdees, p. 71.

agreed in the determination to send him into Northumbria, for the purpose of teaching the unbelieving and the unlearned. They found, indeed, that he was supereminently endowed with the gift of discretion, which is the mother of all virtues ; for which reason they ordained him, and sent him forth to preach¹."

The details here recorded have been thought sufficient to justify the conclusion, that the conventual brotherhood, the abbot and friars of Iona, who considered Aidan worthy of the Episcopate, were the very persons who conferred the orders which qualified him for his mission ; and as they were avowedly Presbyters, it has been asked, " how can the inference be avoided, that he received presbyterial ordination ?" Whatever authority he obtained, it must, we are told, have been bestowed upon him, not by Bishops, but by the college of monks : and if it was episcopal power with which he was clothed, it was

¹ Quo audito, omnium qui consedebant ad ipsum ora et oculi conversi, diligenter quid diceret discutiebant, et ipsum esse dignum episcopatu, ipsum ad erudiendos incredulos et indoctos mitti debere decernunt ; qui gratia discretionis, quæ virtutum mater est, ante omnia probatur imbutus ; sicque illum ordinantes ad prædicandum miserunt. Bed. Hist. lib. iii. c. 5.

Stapleton's version of Bede gives this passage as follows : " Al that were at the assemble looking upon Aidan, debated diligently his saying, and concluded that he, above the rest, was worthy of that charge and bishopricke, and that he should be sent to instruct those unlearned paynims. For he was tried to be chiefly garnished with the grace of discretion, the mother of all virtues. Thus making him bishop, they sent him forth to preache."

only such as presbyters could convey, for there was no one present who could claim a higher rank ¹.

The same observation may be applied to the appointment of Finan and Colman, the successors of Aidan, for the historian describes their ordination and mission in very similar terms. No intimation is afforded, in either case, that any clergyman of a higher order than the resident members of the college, took a share in these transactions; and it has accordingly been maintained, that the same individuals who selected the new Bishops did also ordain and send them to the scene of their professional labours. It is farther asserted, that, as the celebrated convent of Iona did not recognise an order of clergymen corresponding to Bishops, in the common acceptance of the word, there is no ground for believing, that at the period in question, there were any of this higher rank northwards of the Humber. In short, not a few presbyterian writers, both in England and Scotland, have imagined that they could discover, in the system pursued at Hy, a warrant, or at least, some degree of countenance for the scheme of ecclesiastical polity which distinguishes their own communion ².

¹ See Historical Account of Ancient Culdees, p. 60, &c.

² It is sufficient to refer generally to the following works. Selden's *Prefatio ad Decem Scriptores*; Blondell's *Apologia pro Hieron.*; Baxter on Episcopacy; Sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collections; Jamieson's Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees; Dr. Henry's History of Great Britain; and a History of Scotland by the Rev. Alex. Low. Even Dr. Cook appears to take too much for granted on this head, though he does not lay much stress on the fancies of the authors whose opinions he partially adopts.

On the other hand, several learned authors of the Episcopal persuasion have endeavoured to expose the futility of these conclusions, which, so far from being founded on authentic records, can only be regarded as the fictions of chroniclers, the earliest of whom was not born till more than a thousand years after the period to which his narrative refers. Indeed, when it is called to mind, that Columba, who, about the year 560, established his monastery at Iona, came from Ireland, where every thing connected with the Church had been framed according to the ordinary model, it may be presumed, unless the contrary can be proved on sound historical evidence, that he held the same tenets, as to faith and discipline, which were embraced by his countrymen at large. But, relinquishing this probability as a basis too narrow to support a weighty argument, the writers to whom we have alluded undertake to prove both that the superior order of bishop was known and venerated by the first Abbot of Hy, and also that the missionaries sent into the dominions of Oswald, were canonically invested with the highest degree of clerical authority ¹.

That Columba himself acknowledged an order in the Church higher than that of presbyter, is manifest from an anecdote related by Adamnanus, who wrote his life, and even succeeded to his office as head of the convent. He mentions that, on one occasion, his celebrated predecessor asked a Bishop

¹ The principal authors here referred to are Usher, Stillingfleet, Bishop Lloyd, Bishop Gillan, Mr. Goodall, and Mr. Skinner.

whom he at first supposed to be only a priest, to assist him at the consecration of the Eucharist ; but that he no sooner discovered his real character, than he desired him to use the privilege of his station in breaking the bread after the manner of a Bishop. " We now know," exclaimed the Abbot, " that you are a Bishop ; why have you hitherto endeavoured to conceal yourself, and hindered us from treating you with due respect ¹ ?"

This, no doubt, may be contemned as a legendary story, and liable of consequence to all the suspicion which attaches to monkish narratives. But, at the same time, it ought to be remembered, that it proceeded from the pen of an individual possessing considerable rank and reputation, and who was moreover the superior of that very establishment which is supposed not to have known, or to have disregarded, the distinction between priest and bishop : farther, that, if Adamnanus can be imagined to have had any prejudices on this subject, they must have been in favour of his own order as a presbyter : and, at all events, whether the incident he records was well founded or otherwise, the manner in which he repeats it shows his own impression in respect to the point at issue. It is therefore, with good reason, inferred, that the pre-eminence, which, according to the testimony of Bede, belonged to the Abbot, must have been confined to the affairs of his convent. Indeed, the same annalist, in his life of St. Cuthbert, supplies his reader with the means of arriving at this

¹ " Hunc solus episcopus, episcopali ritu, frange panem." Vita Sanc. Colum.

very conclusion. He states, that the Bishop and other monks made choice of the Abbot, who took on him the government of the monastery; and that all the priests, deacons, singers, readers, and others of the ecclesiastical order, together with the Bishop himself, observed the monastic rule in all things¹.

But the same views will derive a more striking confirmation from examining minutely into the procedure of the holy brethren at Iona, taken in connexion with the conduct of similar bodies in other parts of the Christian world, at the period when Aidan, Finan, and Colman, were clothed with the episcopal office. At the very threshold of this inquiry, indeed, the most unreflecting reader will be disposed to ask a reason why the monks of the Columban college should have given the title of "Bishop" to the several members of their house whom they sent into Northumberland; and why they should, in every case, have gone through the form of declaring him worthy of the episcopate? Did the words Bishop and Presbyter mean the same thing in those days; or was Bede, who relates the occurrence, ignorant of the distinction usually implied in these terms? It cannot be affirmed, either that the words were synonymous, or that the venerable historian was not aware of their difference; for, besides that, in his works at large, he observes the common distinction between these two orders, he marks it

¹ Regente monasterium Abbate, quem ipsi episcopi cum consilio fratrum elegerint, omnes presbyteri, diaconi, cantores, lectores, ceterique gradus ecclesiastici monachicam per omnia, cum ipso episcopo, regulam servant.

with peculiar emphasis in regard to Iona itself; telling his reader, as we have already found, that the head of the monastery was always a presbyter and not a bishop; and conveying too, in the most forcible terms, and with no small degree of surprise, the additional information, that the Bishop there was held under a species of subjection to the Abbot, though the latter was of inferior rank as a churchman. Had the two persons, the prelate and the ruler of the convent, been of the same order, the superiority of this last could not have excited any astonishment in the mind of an ecclesiastical historian; because such pre-eminence was necessarily implied in the office which he held. It must be concluded, therefore, if there be any consistency in the language and reasoning of Bede, that the office-bearer denominated a bishop, and who is said to have been subject in an unusual manner to the Abbot of the monastic college, must have occupied a more exalted station in the hierarchy than was enjoyed by a mere presbyter.

If this be admitted, and it is not easy to see on what ground it can be called in question, it may then be asked how a convent of presbyters could consecrate a bishop? On what principle could they pretend to confer upon one of their brethren a rank and authority which they themselves did not possess? They knew perfectly the difference between a bishop and a presbyter; the historian who has narrated the transaction was equally well acquainted with that distinction: on what view of duty or obligation, then, shall we explain the conduct of these monks, which is so utterly at variance with the leading

principles of their institution, supposing them to be hostile to episcopacy ?

There is only one way of restoring probability to the narrative of Bede, and consistency to the proceedings of the Columban convent ; which is, to admit that the Bishop, who had evidently some connexion with the monastic establishment at Iona, performed a part in the ordination of the Episcopal missionaries, who were successively sent among the Anglo-Saxons. This is the view which Lloyd and most other writers on the same side have adopted ; and though it has been violently opposed in certain quarters, it appears nevertheless to be both extremely reasonable in itself, and capable, at the same time, of such a degree of evidence as will convince all who have not determined to sacrifice the interests of truth to the love of system ¹.

We find, then, that it was customary in other parts of Christendom, at the identical period when the Columban establishment at Iona was in its greatest prosperity, to have Bishops, either actually in monasteries, or specially attached to them, for the very purpose of performing those official duties which ministers of a lower order could not discharge ; and, in particular, for ordaining young men to the service of the holy ministry. In the early ages of the Church, in fact, convents were at once the schools and the colleges in which the clergy received their education ; and as religion and learning were thought to be very much advanced by the discipline of such places, great privileges were from time to time con-

¹ See Jamieson's Account of Culdees, p. 58, &c.

ferred upon them. Among other immunities, they obtained that of being almost entirely independent of Episcopal jurisdiction. The abbots and senior friars not only governed all who resided within their walls, but even retained some kind of authority over those individuals who had been ordained and sent forth from their body.

The most ancient privileges of this description, which have been observed in the Western Church, are those which were enjoyed by the African monasteries. These were for a time so completely exempted from Episcopal superintendence, that the Bishop in whose diocese they were situated, had nothing to do with them, except when the abbots were pleased to make use of his assistance¹. Indeed, about the year 500, the members of these establishments had it in their power to name whatever Bishop they thought proper in the whole province, to ordain, and do other Episcopal acts within their gates. It also appears, that when they had once made choice of a prelate, they were not at liberty to change, but were bound to him as long as he lived; though they were not under any obligation to adopt his successor in the particular see which he had happened to fill. In defence of this privilege, they pleaded, in the Council of Carthage, that they were not under any prelate out of duty, but from choice; excepting only the Archbishop of the province, who, as the primate, possessed a certain power of control and inspection. At a later period, however, they were restricted to the Bishop of the diocese; so that he, and no other,

¹ Concil. Edit. Labbe, tom. iv. col. 1649 et 1785. B.

had authority to ordain those persons whom they might present to him as candidates for the sacred ministry; to perform the rite of confirmation; and to consecrate churches or other houses of prayer. The pattern of conformity in these respects, held up to the African Christians, was that of the monastery of St. Lerin, or St. Honore, in France, which had already been restricted to the bishop of the diocese¹.

From the Councils of Agathe and Lerida, we perceive how this matter was arranged in other parts of France, as well as in Spain. It was enacted, that no person should be ordained in any monastery, except by the Bishop in whose diocese it was situated; it being understood, that this solemn ceremony was performed at the desire, or at least with the permission, of the Abbot, and not otherwise. But besides this arrangement, by which the respective rights of the diocesan and of the religious house were carefully guarded, we find that some of the greater monasteries had Bishops residing in them, for the sole convenience of those establishments; being elected by the Abbot and monks, and consecrated by the neighbouring prelates, to the end that they might preach and do Episcopal offices in the convents. Of this monastic residence on the part of Bishops, we have one example in St. Martins, near Tours, and another at St. Denis, in the vicinity of Paris; both of which had such prelates within their walls from ancient times. We have even an account of their succession during some ages. Hence it is manifest,

¹ Concil. Labbe. Col. 1646. D. E. Col. 1648. A. Col. 1649. A. B.

that, in either case, of the exempted or non-exempted monasteries, there were bishops employed for ordaining the young divines educated under their superintendence; and there is no instance on record, that such duty was ever performed by the Abbot, not being a Bishop, though, as has been already stated, his permission and consent were on all occasions declared indispensable¹.

These facts, which are familiar to every reader of ecclesiastical history, prove beyond all reasonable doubt that the ordinations in monasteries were always performed by Bishops, either belonging to the establishments themselves, or chosen by the heads of convents for that very purpose. It is also manifest, from the same records, that councils were held to define the relations which subsisted between the Bishops and the monasteries in which they were invited to act, as well as to limit the power of selection in this respect on the side of the Abbot and his brotherhood; that "they were tied to the Bishop whom they fixed on, as long as he lived;" and that, at length, they were in some places restricted to the ordinary of the diocese. The Superior and his monks, who, it is obvious, were the best judges of the character and acquirements of those under their care, pointed out from time to time such students as were qualified for the ministry; upon which the Bishop, whose services were engaged, proceeded to the act

¹ Concil. Agath. c. 27. Concil. Ilerid. c. 3 Acta S. S. Ord. Benedict. seculo viii. in præf. pp. 20. 21. See the History of the Government of the Church as it was in Great Britain and Ireland, when they first received the Christian Religion. By William Lloyd, D.D. Bishop of Worcester, p. 163, &c.

of ordination, and gave to the candidates for the diaconate or priesthood, as it might happen, authority to serve in the Church of Christ¹.

Those writers who have imagined that the antiquity of Presbyterian usages might be established by the practice of the monks at Iona, refuse to give due weight to the historical details now quoted, choosing rather to confine the attention of their readers to the individual cases mentioned by Bede, as having occurred in the Columban convent. As no Bishop is said to have been present at the ordination of Aidan and Finan, it is asserted, that the ceremony must have been performed by the Abbot and his brethren; not advertng to the important consideration that, at the very period when these episcopal missionaries received their orders, it was customary, in other monasteries, to employ Bishops in that solemn service; nor giving the slightest weight to the probability which forces itself on the conviction of all other men, that, as there were Bishops in some way connected with the College of Columba, and in some unusual manner subject to his control, their services may have been used on an occasion so momentous as that of raising presbyters to the episcopate. If Bishops

“ Our adversaries,” says Bishop Lloyd, “ would have it, that the Abbot and his senior monks did ordain those who were sent out of their monastery ; and that not only into the lower orders, but into the order of Bishops, as they show us in the example of Aidan and his successors. But this is so far from being true, that I dare challenge our adversaries to show any instance where the Abbot and monks, without a Bishop among them, ordained so much as one single Presbyter.”—See *History of the Government, &c.* p. 162.

did not officiate at such ordinations, what could be the intention of having this order of clergy at all, and what were the peculiar duties to which they were appointed?

We may remark in passing, that, besides the evidence derived from the practice of foreign monasteries, we find one instance at least of the residence of a Bishop in a Scottish convent, where there was no Episcopal See—in a convent, too, of the celebrated Culdees, who are supposed not only to have set the first example of parity in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, but even to have performed the office of ordination with their own hands, though avowedly of no higher rank than Presbyters. We allude to the charter by which David the First erected the bishopric of Brechin, and which, being granted to the “Bishop and Culdees in the Church of Brechin,” affords the most satisfactory proof that the prelate dwelt among the monks *before* he was appointed to the superintendence of the diocese¹.

In all cases of doubt, where reference is made to an established principle, the ordinary practice of mankind, in the same age and in similar circumstances, affords a safe ground for decision. With respect then to the question now before us, we find it proved, in the first place, that, in other parts of the Christian Church, at the same period, Bishops were attached to monasteries for the purpose of ordination; and, in the second place, that a Bishop was connected with

¹ Chalmer's Caledonia, vol. i. p. 430, note (y). The charter is addressed, “EPISCOPO ET KELLEDEIS IN ECCLESIA DE BREICHEN.”

the convent of Iona, so far even as to be, in some measure, under the direction of its Abbot: may it not then be justly inferred that, in the latter instance, as well as in all the former, his relationship to the religious house implied the discharge of episcopal duties? Unless, indeed, we are prepared to admit, that the Presbyters of Hy were guilty of the impious mockery of ordaining a brother to an order and office in the Church higher than they themselves possessed, we must have recourse to the ministry of a Bishop; for Bede assures us, that when Aidan and Finan were pronounced worthy of the episcopate, they were by means of ordination raised to that degree. If this inference shall not be allowed, it must become a matter of curiosity to ascertain what the venerable historian meant when he related that a member of the Presbyterial College was judged by his brethren a fit person to be elevated to the episcopate, and then invested with it through the observance of a religious ceremony. Were Aidan and Finan, after this ordination to be Bishops, exactly in the same order of clergy that they formerly were? If they were priests before, what were they afterwards?

To weaken this argument, it has been insinuated, that these two monks may have been only laymen before their appointment to the See of Lindisfarne, and, consequently, that their elevation to the episcopate denoted nothing more than that authority to minister in sacred things, which the second order of clergy in a Presbyterian Church hold themselves qualified to confer¹. But we are assured, on good grounds, that

¹ See Historical Account of Ancient Culdees, p. 36, &c.

the companions of Columba were priests, of whom twelve accompanied him from Ireland to Iona ; and that the same number was afterwards retained from a feeling of respect to the conduct of the founder. In truth, the model may be traced to a higher and more sacred example than that of the Hibernian Abbot ; and we believe it will be found that, in all such convents, the constituent members were uniformly in holy orders. But, in the absence of positive proof, we admit the controversialist is not entitled to found an argument on an assumed fact ; still, it may be observed, as a thing extremely improbable, that in selecting persons from their body for the very important office of a Bishop, and at the request too of a sovereign prince who wished to found a Church in his dominions, the monks of Hy should always have fixed on laymen—individuals of no experience in their profession, whose qualifications for preaching the Gospel could be but imperfectly known, and whose characters, as public functionaries, were still, in a great measure, to be formed. If, on the other hand, it be granted that any one of the four, Cormac, Aidan, Finan, or Colman, was a Presbyter before his elevation to the episcopate, it must follow, either that the second ordination was to a higher order than that of priest, or that the whole proceeding was a ridiculous and most contemptible farce.

But that the celebrated monks just named were, in fact, raised to the rank and office of a Bishop, even as that word is usually understood in our times, is rendered manifest by the nature of their proceedings as soon as they entered upon the duties of their new appointment. “ Aidan,” says Bede, “ was sent

from Hy to convert the Angles, having received the degree of Bishop (*accepto grandu episcopatûs*) at the time when Sigenius, abbot and priest, was over that monastery ;” and that this “degree of the episcopate” implied a higher power than could be held by a Presbyter, appears obvious from the things which are recorded in the pages of the same historian. For example, he relates, that “Aidan chose the place of his episcopal see in the island of Lindisfarne ; there he was with his clergy, and there was the Abbot with his monks, who all belonged to the cure of the Bishop.” For his clergy, the same historian remarks, “he had diverse persons, who came with him from Hy, who went about with him, one of whom was called ‘his own presbyter,’ and one or two his own clerks.” Besides these, he adds, “there were many Presbyters that came out of Ireland, who preached and baptised ; and so churches were built in many places throughout his diocese ¹.”

The learned author, indeed, devotes whole chapters to the detail of this Bishop’s proceedings ; exhibits a very flattering view of his character ; and finds no fault in him, except in the matter of Easter, which Aidan continued to observe according to the old calendar. But, notwithstanding this discrepancy, he was not only in communion with the prelates that came from Rome ; “he was,” continues Bede, “deservedly beloved by them, and held in veneration by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of the East Angles ; and, accordingly, after his death, he was accounted a saint by those of the Romish

¹ Bed. Hist. lib. iii. c. 3. 5. 14, lib. vi. c. 27.

communion." "This," as Lloyd suitably remarks, "showeth clearly that they did not take him for an intruder into their order, but were very well satisfied with his ordination¹."

But the history of Finan, who succeeded Aidan in the see of Lindisfarne, furnishes the strongest and the most unimpeachable evidence that human testimony can supply, that the persons whom the monks of Iona pronounced worthy of the episcopate were in fact Bishops, in the proper acceptation of the term. "Having arrived in his diocese," says the ecclesiastical annalist, "he built a church fit for an episcopal see; and having shortly afterwards baptized Peada, king of the Middle Angles, with all his court, he gave him four priests, one Scotch and three English, to instruct and baptize his people. In process of time, the Scottish priest, who was called Diuma, was ordained by Finan to be Bishop of that nation, as well as of the province of Mercia²."

At a subsequent period, Sigebert, king of the East Angles, with his friends, was baptized by the same Bishop, when that monarch also received two priests for the spiritual instruction of his subjects. One of these, whose name was Cedd, having, with the assistance of his colleague, gathered together a large Church to the Lord, returned to the establishment at Lindisfarne, to inform Finan of their remarkable success in the work of evangelizing the Saxons; with which

¹ Bed. Hist. c. 25, et Vita Cuthberti, n. 7. Lloyd, p. 107.

² The words of Bede are as follow: "Factus est Diuma, unus ex præfatis quatuor sacerdotibus, episcopus Mediterraneo Anglorum, simul et Merciorum, ordinatus a Finano episcopo." Lib. iii. c. 21.

account the Northumbrian prelate was so much gratified, that, to enable him to prosecute his pious objects with still greater advantage, he resolved to raise the priest to the episcopal order. "Finan," says the historian, "seeing his success in the furtherance of the Gospel, and having asked the assistance of two other Bishops for the ministry of ordination, made him Bishop over the nation of the East Angles." He next relates that Cedd, having received the degree of the episcopate, returned to the province, and, with *greater authority*, fulfilled the work which he had begun; erected churches in different places; and ordained presbyters and deacons, who might assist him in the word of faith, and in the ministry of baptism¹.

The facts now stated cannot fail to throw a strong light on the character of the seminary where Finan received his education, and to expose, at the same time, the absurdity of those writers who imagine that the monks of Iona were hostile to episcopacy as a form of Church government. That he himself viewed the office of a Bishop, as essentially distinct from that of a Presbyter cannot be doubted by any man who has

¹ Ubi cum omnia perambulantes multam Domino ecclesiam congregassent, contigit quodam tempore eundem Cedd redire domum, ac pervenire ad ecclesiam Lindisfaronensem, propter colloquium Finani episcopi; qui ubi prosperatum ei opus evangelii comperit, fecit eum episcopum in gentem Orientalium Saxonum, vocatis ad se in ministerium ordinationis aliis duobus episcopis: qui, accepto gradu episcopatus, rediit ad provinciam, et majore auctoritate, ceptum opus explens, fecit per loca ecclesias, Presbyteros et diaconos ordinavit, qui se in verbo fidei et ministerio baptizandi adjuvarent, maxime in civitate quæ lingua Saxonum Ythencaister appellatur. Bed. Hist. lib. iv. c. 22.

read with candour the foregoing paragraphs; and taking this conclusion, in connexion with all that Bede relates concerning him, during the ten years he presided over the Northumbrian Church, the natural inference is, that, in acting in the way he is described to have acted, he did not renounce the tenets of his native convent, but, on the contrary, that those tenets were in strict accordance with the principles by which his whole public conduct was regulated. It is allowed that Finan requested the attendance of two other Bishops to join with him in giving canonical consecration to the presbyter Cedd; and, moreover, that this Presbyter, when raised to the episcopate, returned to his district with greater authority, and forthwith proceeded to ordain other priests and deacons to assist him in his pious labours. Are we not, therefore, warranted to draw the conclusion, which seems to press itself upon the mind with irresistible force, that the doctrines taught at Iona respecting ecclesiastical polity, were decidedly episcopal, and that Aidan, Finan, and Colman, were consecrated by Bishops?

The whole difficulty, in short, which has been created by those who are determined to see in the practice of the Columban monks the model of a Presbyterian Church, arises from not giving its proper meaning to that very common form of speech, which attributes to those who procure a thing to be done, the merit, and sometimes even the act of doing it. For example, in the case under consideration, we are told that the College of Iona chose one of their number, whom they thought most worthy of the episcopate, and fittest to discharge the important

duties attached to that office ; and, ordaining him, says the historian, they sent him to King Oswald. No mention is made of either bishop or abbot ; and, accordingly, if we restrict our conclusions to the bare terms of the statement now given, we must believe that all the members of the convent, lay and clerical, if there were any of the former denomination among them, proceeded, as soon as they had fixed on the proper person, to invest him with the sacred character, and dismiss him to his charge. But let those who have any difficulty in satisfying themselves how matters were really conducted on such occasions, consult the practice of other monasteries at the very same period ; and they will find the most conclusive evidence, that no ordinations were performed without the ministry of Bishops ; and, moreover, that the official relation of these dignitaries to monastic establishments, had been made the subject of public regulation by the judicatories of the Church, both in Europe and Africa.

It must have been observed, that the ground assumed by the enemies of the prelatical form of Church polity is altogether of a negative description, and rests solely on the circumstance that Bede has omitted to state, in regard to the ordinations at Iona, whether the office was performed by a Bishop or otherwise. The venerable historian simply relates, in every particular case, that the members of the monastery, having made choice of a brother, whom they deemed worthy of the episcopate, ordained him, and sent him forth to discharge episcopal duties among the Angles. A reason is therefore demanded, why he did not inform his readers that Bishops were

actually employed in conferring orders, and more especially, the highest of all orders, in the Columban convent. Lloyd, we think, gives a sufficient answer, when he observes, " Bede was not likely to imagine that such a question would ever be asked."

We have not taken any notice of the Culdees as a distinct order of monks, or as being in any special manner connected with Iona. The term is understood to denote " servants of God," or " dwellers in cells;" a description that may apply to any class of Cœnobites, who retire from the world to cultivate literature, or to indulge the feelings of piety. The monastery of Hy was destroyed by the Norwegians and Danes long before the appellation now mentioned found its way into the pages of regular history; the sacred walls were pillaged and thrown down; and the inhabitants were either massacred by the infidel invaders, or compelled to seek an asylum at a distance from the coast. The Culdees, in truth, appear to have been the first British monks; who, in proportion as the Saxons gained the ascendancy in the south, migrated into Ireland, and the remoter parts of Cumbria, where, under the followers of Ninian and St. Patrick, they continued to abjure the temporal pursuits of life, and to resign themselves to fasting, meditation, and prayer. It is found, accordingly, that wherever the Celtic language was used, which in its various dialects was common to them all, they were distinguished as Culdees—men of retirement and devotion—and were venerated as the patrons of learning and sanctity throughout a large extent of the Hibernian provinces, Wales, and the country now called Scotland.

It has been imagined that these monks were unfriendly to episcopacy, and recognized no orders of a higher degree than could be conferred by themselves. Mr. Baxter, the great advocate for parity among the English Dissenters, maintained that the Culdees guided the affairs of religion in Scotland long before the coming of Palladius, and yet were not Bishops, but only monks and Presbyters—that this emissary of the Pope first introduced the higher sort of Bishops, but the Culdees still kept up the greater part against him—that the monastery of Columba at Hy restored strength to the Culdees, who became the prevailing clergy in North Britain, though they had no episcopal orders, but bare election and ordination by Presbyters¹.

To expose such groundless fancies it will be sufficient to repeat the observation already made, namely, that, before the time of Palladius, there were no monks of any kind in the Western Church; to which we may now add, that the Culdees are not mentioned by any author who lived within five hundred years of the period in question; that they are not said by any Scottish historian to have ever had their residence at Iona—that they are not to be found in the pages of Bede or Nennius, the latter of whom wrote in the ninth century; and that the first account we have of this mysterious brotherhood represents them as exercising a privilege, not quite compatible with their supposed hostility to Episcopal Government, the election of Bishops in quality of Dean and Chapter.

¹ See History of the Government of the Church by Bishop Lloyd, p. 134.

In point of fact, we are assured, on the evidence of records still existing, that the Culdean convents constituted the chapters of the several sees, and that the power of choosing the diocesan was vested in their hands. At St. Andrews, they continued to enjoy this right exclusively, till the year 1140, when a priory was erected in that city, and filled with canons-regular; who, for more than a century, appear to have exercised a co-ordinate power with the Culdees, and to have joined them in the election of the Bishop. From that period, the canons seem to have encroached on the privilege of the more ancient possessors, and to have usurped the sole right of nominating to the vacant diocese. Nor was it till the year 1297 that the latter appealed to Rome in the person of their prior, William Cumming, who pleaded their cause before Pope Boniface VIII.; but they failed to establish their claim, on the ground that they had relinquished it—*non utendo jure suo*—having allowed two elections to proceed without them, and objecting only in the third instance¹.

The chapters of the other bishoprics consisted of Culdees in the same manner as that of St. Andrews. Indeed, at Dunkeld, Dumblane, and Brechin, there had been such convents from a remote period, in which the Bishops had their residence, even before their sees were erected. After dioceses were regularly formed, and the privileges of the Dean and Chapter established, we find the Culdees, like other chapters, confirming grants made by the Bishop;

¹ See Preface to Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, being a Dissertation on the Culdees, p. lii. second edition.

and in all cases, in short, acting agreeably to their situation as the members of an Episcopal Church.

It is true that the Bishops and the Culdees were not always on very good terms, and it has been rather artfully suggested by those writers, who wish to represent these monks as dissatisfied with the ritual or discipline of the ecclesiastical body, that the disputes originated in religious discussions. But, by examining into the several cases of which some account still remains, it will appear that it was not so ; the differences being merely such as not unfrequently occurred between the diocesan and the canons about money, lands, and privileges.

No person, whose mind is unfettered by prejudice, will see in such litigations about church-lands and tithes any evidence that the parties were of different sentiments in religion. On one occasion, we are told, the Culdees of Monimusk entered into a controversy with the Bishop of St. Andrews, the founder of their house, in regard to a right which they claimed to become canons-regular, and to erect themselves into a canonry ; and this object they seemed determined to accomplish against the declared will of the prelate from whom they derived at once their existence and support as a conventual brotherhood. In truth, so far were they from being at variance with the canons in point of faith or discipline, that “ they themselves would needs be canons-regular.” And yet this very dispute has been urged by a Presbyterian writer, as a convincing proof that their religion and the principles of their institution were different from those of the Romish communion. Well has it been observed, that “ to those who are not suffi-

ciently acquainted with the usual methods by which controversies of this kind have been carried on, these two hundred years bypast, it must be astonishing to hear such notions invented, propagated, and maintained from topics which so evidently refute them, by any person who regards his own character¹."

To such as have read the history of that period with attention and candour, it must have appeared manifest that the Culdees ultimately lost ground in Scotland, not because their superior sanctity gave offence to the less rigid Churchmen, but because they themselves were not esteemed sufficiently pure for the spiritual character of the times. They would not conform to the self-denying discipline which, during the dark ages, gradually crept into the monasteries; on the contrary, they chose to have wives and families in their convents, and to secure for their sons, in a long line of hereditary succession, their various appointments, both monastic and secular, with all the emoluments and privileges which were attached to the discharge of them. They contested with the prelates the enjoyment of lands, gifts, and endowments; they disputed with another fraternity the right of electing Bishops; and, in a word, asserted, on all occasions, a pre-eminence in the ecclesiastical body, wherever their ambition could be indulged, or their avarice gratified. "Like other corrupted monks, they were at length compelled to give way to the canons-regular, whom the Popes were

¹ "Dissertation on the Culdees," prefixed to Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, p. lxiv. second edition.

forced to institute, to correct the depravity of the ancient orders¹."

Is it not, then, paradoxical in the extreme, to argue, in regard to a class of men who strove so resolutely to retain a privilege which belonged to the Dean and Chapter of an Episcopal See, and who, after having allowed it to lapse, even appealed to the Court of Rome to recover it, that they were hostile to the form of Church government which then prevailed throughout the Christian world? Such authors as have no hypothesis to maintain connected with this subject, see the truth at a single glance, and honestly avow it. One of those, who has bequeathed to the historical reader a monument of the most patient research, was led to remark that "system has concurred with ignorance in supposing that the Cul-dees were peculiar to the united kingdom of the Picts and Scots; and actually possessed rights and exercised powers which were inconsistent with the established laws of the universal Church in that age. A retrospective view of ecclesiastical history, from the epoch of the introduction of Christianity into North Britain, would show to a discerning eye that the doctrines, liturgical forms, and the monkish discipline of the Irish, the Scots, and the Picts, were extremely similar²."

The learned and acute Pinkerton, too, in allusion to the same order of friars, maintains "it is clear

¹ Sibbald's *History of Fife and Kinross*, p. 186; edition of 1803.

² Chalmer's *Caledonia*, vol. i. book iii. chap. 8.

from ancient charters that, so far from being enemies to episcopacy, they were the very men who chose the Bishops. Doubtless, he who expects to find in Scotland matters not to be found in any neighbouring country, only shows his own credulity; and that from the fourth century, every Christian country had its Bishops, is too well known to be insisted on. When St. Martin first brought monks into Europe about the year 380, their rigid life acquired them high esteem. In a short time, the Bishops were chiefly chosen from their order; and afterwards, usurping the right of the people, they began to choose the Bishops from among themselves. Hence, in the middle ages, every monastery had its Bishop, and almost every bishopric its monastery; nay, the abbot, or chief of the monastery, was sometimes esteemed superior to the Bishop; that is, in every thing not immediately belonging to the episcopal function. Of this, the monastery of Hyona, the seminary of Christianity in North Britain, is a remarkable example¹."

Selden, we believe, was the first who thought he could discover, in the usages of the Culdees, certain peculiarities, which seemed to establish some affinity between them and the Presbyterians; and he has been followed by other writers on the same side, with a degree of implicit confidence quite inconsistent with that enlightened and independent investigation which is supposed to distinguish modern times. The only resemblance, we presume, that will ever be detected

¹ Pinkerton's Inquiry into the Early History of Scotland, vol. ii. part vi. chap. i.

by an impartial eye, consists in their occasional disputes with the Bishops; but, in their case, the hostile sentiments which sometimes burst forth against the prelates, respected privilege and income, and not, as has been groundlessly imagined, the principles of ecclesiastical constitution, the mode of worship, or the details of discipline.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE DOCTRINES, RITUAL, AND USAGES, OF THE ANCIENT SCOTTISH CHURCH.

Doctrines of the Scottish Church not different from those of other Christians at the same period—Controversy in regard to the proper time for keeping Easter—Cycle followed by the Britons was the one originally embraced by the Romans—The change took place at Rome subsequently to the Conversion of the former people—Both parties ignorant of the source of their dissension—Difference in this respect between the Eastern and Western Churches—Varieties in the mode of calculation—Attempts of Augustine and Pope Honorius to gain the Britons and Irish—Conference between Bishop Colman and Wilfrid, and the decision of Oswi—Dispute about the tonsure—the Northern Church adopts the Roman fashion—Inferences drawn from the condition of the ancient Britons, the Syrian Christians, Abyssinians, and Waldenses—The pretensions of Scottish writers in regard to the original purity and steadfastness of their Church—The Britons in Wales resisted the Romanists longer than the Scots and Irish—Their spirited reply to Augustine—Attempt of Gregory to gain the Irish—Conduct of Deganus—The Culdees—Knowledge of the Scriptures in those early times—Several Latin versions used in Ireland—Canon not strictly defined—Doctrine of Augustine, Bishop of Hippo—Of Sedulius and Claudius—Opposed to the errors of Pelagius—Schoolmen introduced nice distinctions—British Liturgies—Attempts to introduce uniformity in the method of chanting the Service—Commemoration of departed Saints—Prayers and oblations made for the repose of their souls—The term Mass not restricted to the service of the altar—Chrism or holy oil introduced reluc-

*tantly into baptismal service—Neglect of Confession in Ireland
—Some parts of the Mosaical institution continued—The Ro-
man Creed generally the standard of Faith.*

As the external polity of the Church in Scotland was founded on the same principles which were recognized in other parts of the Christian world, it might be presumed, on general grounds, that her doctrines, ritual, and usages, were not different from those in England and France ; the channel through which she communicated with the learning and authority of the great ecclesiastical bodies on the Continent. In regard to points of faith, indeed, properly so called, there appears not, in early times, to have been any discrepancy whatever among the several members of the great religious commonwealth, which composed the Western Church. The heresy of Pelagius, perhaps, which disturbed the belief of certain communities, whose leaders may be supposed to have lent an ear to the refinements of the Grecian philosophy, made no impression upon the less sensitive minds of the Northern Britons. Among a rude people, the subtilties of abstract reasoning are never permitted to supersede the more palpable dogmas of an established belief, especially when the latter are recommended to them by men whose characters they have been long accustomed to respect. It is probable, therefore, that Palladius, if indeed his mission was directed to the Scots in Albyn, found but few roots of the false doctrine to extirpate, and that he soon succeeded in restoring the field to a proper condition for producing the fruits of a sound faith.

But, although in all matters of importance, the British Christians—including in that term the re-

mains of the people subdued by the Saxons, as well as the converted Picts and Irish settlers—agreed with the more recent Church founded by Augustine, the celebrated Archbishop of Canterbury, there were nevertheless, several points of inferior consequence, in which, for a considerable period, there was no approach to concord.

The most interesting of these subjects had a reference to the astronomical principle on which was determined the particular day for the annual observance of Easter. It is well known that the rule, according to which this solemnity was fixed, when the Romans first gained to the faith of the Redeemer the inhabitants of Britain and Ireland, was different from the one afterwards introduced among the Italian and other continental churches; and as, during a long time after the recall of the legions from these islands scarcely any intercourse subsisted between the capital of the West and this distant part of the empire, the Britons continued to observe the yearly feast, agreeably to the cycle which they had originally received.

When, at length, the Mother Church, in the course of the sixth century, renewed her attention to the Christians in Britain, she was amazed to find that one of the most solemn of her periodical celebrations was kept by her children there, in what was now esteemed an uncanonical manner; and imagining that, in this irregularity, they symbolized with the heretics of the East, and even with the Jews themselves, she used all her influence to make them adopt the new calculation. The native clergy, however, defended their practice, on the ground that they had

received the Paschal calendar from the disciples of St. John ; and thus both parties, already entirely ignorant of the true nature of the controversy which they were pleased to maintain with each other, were equally obstinate in supporting the canonical authority of their respective usages. After some years, however, the arts or eloquence of the Romish priests prevailed ; and the Pope found, in the Abbot of Iona himself, a sedulous and devoted convert to the improved lunar cycle.

The reader will observe that the question agitated by these pious divines was not whether Easter ought or ought not to be observed, as a stated festival of the Christian Church ; but simply whether it should be kept according to an ancient method of calculating the paschal season, or agreeably to a scheme which was somewhat more modern. It was, in short, altogether a matter of order, and not of faith or worship. Viewed as an astronomical problem, it might be considered as involving some portion of doubt as to the periodical movements of the heavenly bodies ; but could not certainly be regarded as having any connexion with a dispute on theological tenets, or even the propriety of an annual commemoration of the great events which are recorded in the Evangelical narrative.

The Britons, who opposed what they deemed an innovation, were, as has been stated, willing to believe that they were treading in the steps of the beloved disciple, and of the Asiatic Churches, which were imagined to have received from his mouth the rule for ascertaining with precision the return of Easter Sunday. But the zealous advocates for this

venerable tradition were not aware that, on this head, they differed more from the Christians of the East than they did from those of Rome. The former always kept the festival on the fourteenth day of the moon, the anniversary of the Jewish passover, on whatever day of the week it might happen to fall ; whereas the members of the British Church uniformly solemnised it on the Sunday which occurred between the fourteenth and the twentieth day of the moon inclusive, following a cycle of eighty-four years. This period, which, according to Epiphanius, was originally Jewish, had been adopted by the Western Church ; and it was retained, as the basis of the Christian Calendar, till after the middle of the fifth century, when Victorius of Aquitain constructed a new cycle of 532 years ; an account of which may be found in his Prologue, and in the Epistles of Ambrose, Paschasinus, Cyril, and Pope Leo, published by Bucherius. But even prior to the time now indicated, the Romans had made more than one alteration on their original scheme. Before the era of Christianity, the vernal equinox, on the faith of certain calculations which had received the sanction of Julius Cæsar, was fixed to the 25th of March ; which date the Christians never anticipated in their festival, unless when they were compelled by the narrow limits of the paschal month. This they chose to confine within the interval which begins with the 25th of March and ends with the 21st of April, inclusive ; while the cycle was so contrived as to point out for Easter, the Sunday that happened between the fourteenth and the twentieth day of the moon.

It was this most ancient method of computation

to which the Britons and Irish adhered; and that it was used by the Church of Rome before the Council of Nice, is evident from the Paschal Table of a hundred years preserved by Buchedus in his "*Doctrina Temporum*," and by Eccarilus, in his "*Writers of the Middle Age*;" for in the earlier part of that formula, Easter is found on the fourteenth day of the moon, in A.D. 316 and 320. At a somewhat later period, as the equinox was carried back to the 21st of March, the paschal season was extended to a corresponding length; and, as to the moon's age, instead of celebrating as formerly from the fourteenth to the twentieth day, it was decreed that the festival should be held on the Sunday which occurred between the sixteenth and the twenty-second. Hence, as has been remarked, it seems sufficiently clear that the Britons must have received their cycle, in its first or oldest state, from the Roman Church, and not from the Asiatic; because their calendar was the very same with that of the former communion, prior to the Council of Nice, which, as every one knows, assembled in A.D. 325; and this fact, at the same time, points out the early period of their conversion, as well as the instruments by which it was accomplished, with much greater certainty than can be derived from the writings of historians who did not live till many centuries afterwards¹.

This dispute continued several years; during which it was from time to time keenly agitated be-

¹ Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* c. xvi. p. 722; *Dissertation on Culdees*, prefixed to Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*; and Skinner's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 109—128.

tween the Romish priests, who were daily gaining ground in the South, and the indigenous clergy, who seemed determined to resist not only this innovation in regard to the moveable feasts, but also their systematic encroachments on the independence of a Church which acknowledged no foreign superior. Augustine, the Archbishop, and Laurentius, his successor in the see of Canterbury, had recourse to all the arts of reasoning, flattery, and intimidation, to secure the compliance of the Britons and Irish; but without any corresponding success. Pope Honorius, in like manner, wrote to the Scottish nation, as the people of the sister island were then denominated, exhorting them not to think their small handful, in the utmost borders of the earth, wiser than all the rest of mankind, and not to keep a paschal solemnity of their own, contrary to the calculations and synodical decrees of all the Bishops of the Catholic Church. This epistle, we are informed by Bede, had some effect upon the clergy in the southern parts of Ireland, though the great majority of them still turned a deaf ear to his arguments and exhortations¹.

Colman, the third Bishop sent from Iona to Lindisfarne, was doomed to encounter, in the very centre of his diocese, the full weight of Romish opposition, aided by the zeal of Prince Alfred, the son of Oswi, whom his tutor, the celebrated Wilfrid, had biassed in favour of the new calendar. At a conference held in presence of the King, the question was debated in

¹ Bed. Hist. lib. iii. c. 16.

due form, and with an appearance of the utmost impartiality. The Bishop, who, with his clergy, and Cedd, a neighbouring prelate, occupied one side, urged in support of the British usages, the old argument drawn from the supposed example of St. John, the father of the Oriental Churches. Wilfrid, on the other hand, alleged the authority of St. Peter for the cycle adopted at Rome ; adding, with greater truth, that the Scottish practice of keeping Easter always on a Sunday could not rest on any precedent supplied by the holy Evangelist, who, in condescension to the Jews, was known to have observed the Christian festival on the fourteenth day of the moon, whether it fell on the Lord's day or not. He readily admitted the distinguished piety of Columba, and the respect to which he was entitled ; but maintained, nevertheless, that great as he was, he could not be compared to the blessed prince of the apostles, to whom the Lord said, " Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church ;" and, " to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Oswi appealed to Colman as to the accuracy of this statement, and asked whether any such authority had ever been intrusted to the first Abbot of Iona. As the Bishop could neither question the authenticity of the passage which had been quoted against him, nor claim for the head of his college a direct warrant from Jesus Christ to regulate ecclesiastical ceremonies, his Majesty gave a decision to the following effect. " I say unto you, that as Peter is the porter, I will not contradict him ; but, in so far as I know and am able, will in all things obey his statutes, lest,

when I call at heaven's gate, there be none to open to me¹."

This determination in favour of the Roman priest, viewed perhaps as only a prelude to other changes, induced Colman, with the greater part of his clergy, to return to Iona; where he continued some years, in the enjoyment of a private life, adorned by all the virtues and benevolence of the Christian profession.

But the intricacies of the paschal cycle did not alone occupy the deliberations of the assembly in which the Northumbrian monarch presided. A difference of opinion likewise prevailed among them as to the proper form of the tonsure, or the mode adopted by the clergy of the several Churches in shaving part of the head. The Romanists asserted, as usual, that their particular fashion was derived from St. Peter, while that of the Britons and Scots, they maintained, was copied from Simon Magus, who, in this respect, as well as in others, counterfeited the institutions of the apostles. The success of the assailants, however, on this occasion, was not so gratifying to their zeal as in the debate relative to Easter. It was not till the year 710, that their triumph was completed by means of a letter addressed to Naitan, King of the Picts, by Ceolfrid, Abbot of the monastery at Wearmouth. In arguing with his Majesty, this advocate for canonical usages is so liberal as to acknowledge that "the apostles were not all shaven after one and the same manner;" and that the Catholic Church, though agreeing in one faith, one

¹ Bed. lib. iii. c. 25.

hope, and one charity, had not adopted an uniform tonsure ; admitting, moreover, that this difference of shaving cannot hurt those who exercise a sincere belief towards God, and an ardent love to their neighbour. He did not desist, however, from pressing upon his royal correspondent the duty of complying with the observances of the Universal Church in all things ; promising to him and his family the countenance of St. Peter, when they should ask for admittance at the gates of the heavenly kingdom ¹.

Adamnanus, the Abbot of Ily, and successor of Columba, had before this period discovered the expediency of conforming to the practice of the great body of Christians in respect to the matters now under consideration ; but he could not induce the neighbouring clergy to relinquish their wonted usages, to which they ascribed a degree of importance suitable to the dignity of their supposed origin. What they refused to grant to their superior, however, they conceded a short time afterwards to a Saxon priest named Egbert, who, warned by a celestial vision, took up his residence at Iona ; and “ from him,” says Bede, “ they learned to celebrate the paschal festival after the Catholic and Apostolic manner, and also to adopt the proper figure of the coronal tonsure ².”

A remark naturally suggests itself, at this stage of the narrative, in regard to a species of evidence, which may be derived from the doctrines and usages of such bodies of Christians, as, from local situation, or other causes, may have been long separated from

¹ Bed. lib. v. c. 16—22.

² *Ib.* c. 23.

the general communion of the Church. In most cases it will be found, that to whatever length of time the interruption may have extended, the opinions and practices originally received are firmly retained ; and hence, by examining into the tenets, the ritual, and forms of worship, which distinguish any class of believers who have been insulated for several ages from their brethren of Christendom, means will be discovered, not only for determining the period at which the separation took place, but also for ascertaining the doctrines and religious customs which prevailed throughout the Church at the same epoch.

To illustrate this observation, it might be sufficient to refer to the history of the Britons, in the northern and western parts of the island, when, after a considerable pause in their intercourse with Rome, they were again visited by the representatives of the Pope. Our rude ancestors were found in possession of the little stock of knowledge which had been communicated to them by the first missionaries, in the second or third century ; and we accordingly inherit, in their discussions about the paschal cycle and the tonsure, the most satisfactory proof, that they must have been converted to the faith before the meeting of the celebrated Council of Nice. But we are not confined to our own country for such facts and conclusions. Similar inferences may be drawn from the state of the Abyssinian Christians, of the Syrian, or those who bear the name of St. Thomas, on the coast of Malabar ; and even of the Waldenses, whose interesting community has long found an asylum in the valleys of the Alps. Shut out, during many generations, from all acquaintance with the more

changing creeds and habits of Europe, the two former, upon their renewed communication with the lands whence the seeds of the Gospel were supplied, were amazed to hear of an arbitrary power, which had sprung up in the bosom of the Church, and of numerous dogmas, which were utterly unknown to their ancient teachers.

In regard to the people of Abyssinia, it is well known, that from the date at which Frumentius conveyed to them the elements of Christ's religion down to the arrival of the Portuguese, there is an interval of nearly 1200 years. But as, during that period, they were not exposed to any such disturbance from the intercourse of strangers, as would unsettle their creed or interfere with the forms of their religious service, there is the best reason to believe, that the doctrines and usages which the Europeans discovered among them, in the sixteenth century, were those which they had received from the disciple of Athanasius. As the heresy of Eutyches, relative to the human nature of the Redeemer, usually described as the monophysite hypothesis, had, by the determination of the Council of Chalcedon, received the momentary sanction of the Church, it was recommended to the Abyssinians, on the authority of their patriarch, as one of the essential articles of an orthodox faith. With the tenacity peculiar to the people of the East, the several tribes, under the pastoral care of the Bishop of Axum, adopted and retained the monophysite creed, in defiance of all the arguments and persecutions directed against them by the Roman priests, who in vain assured them that their favourite tenet was an exploded error, and long since con-

demned by the deliberate judgment of the Catholic world. Hence we might arrive at the conclusion, which can be confirmed from other sources, that the communication between Abyssinia and the Christian countries northwards of the Mediterranean, must have ceased soon after the epoch when the Eutychean heresy prevailed. Like the Britons, they claved to the opinions which they had received from their first teachers ; and although their views were extremely incorrect, they ceased not to identify them with the most important parts of their religious system.

The Syrian Christians had seen thirteen centuries pass away, before, in the year 1503, they were visited by the Portuguese, who, at that time, formed various settlements in India, for the double purpose of extending their commerce, and of propagating Christian knowledge. When the followers of Vasco de Gama arrived on the coast of Malabar, they were agreeably surprised to find upwards of a hundred churches, in which was performed a worship distinguished by its pureness and simplicity. These congregations, said the Europeans, belong to the Pope. Who is the Pope ? replied the natives ; we never heard of him. The strangers were still more astonished, when they found these Hindoo Christians maintaining the order and discipline of a regular Church, under Episcopal jurisdiction ; and that, for thirteen hundred years, they had enjoyed a succession of Bishops, appointed by the patriarch of Antioch. " We are of the true faith," said they, " whatever you of the West may be ; for we come from the

place where the disciples of the Redeemer were first called Christians."

At length, when the power of the invaders was sufficiently established, they summoned the clergy to a Synod, at which an Archbishop presided, and where no fewer than a hundred and fifty of the indigenous ministers made their appearance. At this compulsory meeting, they were accused of certain practices and opinions inconsistent with the canons of the Universal Church; that they neglected, for example, the obligation of celibacy; that they owned but two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; that they did not invoke saints, nor worship images, nor believe in purgatory; and finally, that they had no orders or names of dignity in the Church, besides those of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon. These tenets and usages they were commanded to abjure, or to suffer suspension from all ecclesiastical benefices. It was likewise decreed, that all the Syrian books on points of faith or discipline should be burned; "in order" said the inquisitors, "that no pretended apostolical monuments might remain." Nor was it without much difficulty that they were allowed to retain their liturgy in the vernacular tongue; it having been the intention of the Romish party to compel them to recite their prayers in Latin, according to the use of the Western Communion.

The discovery of such Christian societies, after having been removed so many hundred years from all contact with the rest of the believing world, bears a striking resemblance to the restoration of Herculaneum and Pompeii; and so far as we regard the

acquisition of an actual and tangible knowledge, if we may so describe it, of modes, habits, and usages, which had ceased to have any place except in the pages of history, the result is very similar. By obtaining an acquaintance with Churches so primitive, we are carried back to the times when they first received the faith and the institutions which distinguished the early period of the Gospel. In the absence of written monuments, such communities become a standing record of the belief and practice which prevailed among the disciples of the apostles, before the simpler forms of ecclesiastical polity were corrupted, or their creed deformed by the introduction of human devices.

Upon a candid examination then of the relics of ancient doctrine and practice, as found among the Britons, the Abyssinians, the Syrian Christians, and the Waldenses, it will appear manifest, that the authority and usages of Rome made but a very gradual progress, and were reluctantly received. At the same time, ample evidence will present itself, to prove, that these communities, though they questioned the supremacy of the Pope, and opposed the rites and ceremonies which he had occasionally introduced, and even the improved method for regulating the paschal cycle, yet agreed in having the episcopal form of Church government, in the use of a public liturgy, and in observing the annual festivals, commemorative of the principal events in the life of our Saviour. The insulated company of believers, who had preserved the embers of the faith during thirteen centuries, in a remote corner of the earth, retained the three clerical orders of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon,

together with a form of prayer for general worship, composed in the language of the country whence their ancestors had migrated. The people of Abyssinia were discovered in similar circumstances. Being dependent on the ancient Church of Alexandria, they had consented always to receive their bishop from Egypt, who was moreover to be selected from the priests of that kingdom, and bound to continue in canonical subjection to the patriarch at whose see he was consecrated. They had likewise a liturgy; for the preservation of which against the attacks of the Roman Catholics, they had more than one struggle to maintain; and though, like their brethren in Malabar, they permitted it to be revised by the missionaries from Portugal, they did not concede any material point in their accustomed devotions.

There is another subject on which a remarkable coincidence prevails, namely, the age of the world at the birth of Christ; being about fifteen hundred years different from that assumed by the vulgar chronology. It is well known, that the Church for many centuries retained the numbers which are still to be found in the Septuagint version of the more ancient Scriptures, and that the same computation is preferred by the divines of the Greek Communion at the present day, though it has ceased to enjoy the countenance of the learned among the Roman Catholics. The Eastern chronologists usually reckon 5508 years from the Creation to the era of our faith; while the Abyssinians have adopted the even number 5500, casting away the remaining eight: but whether this was done to facilitate calculation, or for some better reason, there is no longer any means of deter-

mining. The Britons appear to have followed the authority of Eusebius, who reduces the interval now mentioned to 5200 years, or of Philo Judæus, who, with greater pretensions to accuracy, limits it to 5196. Fordun, in his "*Scotichronicon*," narrates, that he wrote in the year 1441, from the birth of the Redeemer, or 6640 from the creation; making the distance between these two events 5199 years. Boëce, again, defining the period at which Christianity was received in Scotland, informs his readers, that it took place in the year of Christ 203, and from the creation of the world 5399; leaving a space which corresponds perfectly to the estimate of Philo, or 5196 years, as the distance between the two great epochs under consideration¹.

This system of dates, it is manifest, could only have been received by the rude nations of Britain and Abyssinia, together with the principles of the Christian religion; and that it was the computation as to the age of the world, which was, during several centuries, taught by all orthodox believers, there is no reason to doubt. Their remote situation protected them afterwards from the innovations, as well as excluded them from the improvements, which marked the progress of a thousand years, in Europe and Western Asia².

The ecclesiastical writers of Scotland, more especially since the Reformation, have thought proper to

¹ Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, lib. i. c. 8. Boeth. *Hist. lib. vi.*

² See Dr. Hales's *Analysis of Chronology*, and my *Connexion of Sacred and Profane History*, vol. i. p. 58.

ascribe to their countrymen no small degree of merit for their steady resistance to the encroachments of Rome, whether as to doctrine, or as to mere ceremonies and discipline; insinuating, at the same time, that, in this respect, they set an example to some other nations, who were chargeable with an unpardonable facility in submitting to the decrees and recommendations of the Pope. Such authors, while they hesitate not to maintain, that, at a period when all Churches acknowledged episcopacy, there was a Presbyterian establishment in North Britain, endeavour also to instil into the minds of their readers, the belief that the same people persevered longer than others in expressing a profound antipathy to every usage which bordered on superstition ¹.

But in such statements there is a double misrepresentation. In the first place, the Scots, who disputed with the Romish priests the merits of the paschal calendar and the apostolical authority of the tonsure, were not the progenitors of the people who now inhabit the greater part of North Britain; the latter being obviously of Saxon and Danish origin. The descendants of the tribe who accompanied or followed Columba from Ireland are the Gaël; the occupants of that mountainous country, and those numerous islands, which bound the western shores of Scotland. The language of the two sections of the country now

¹ See Buchanan's History of Scotland; the Preface to Knox's History, by David Buchanan; Sir James Dalrymple's Collection; and Dr. Jamieson's Account of the Ancient Culdees.

mentioned, clearly points out the extraction of the races by which they are respectively possessed; and no one who has studied the speech, the manners, and traditions of the Irish and the Highlanders, can entertain any reasonable doubt that they were originally the same people. But the men who have cultivated the plains, and built the towns of Scotland, derive their lineage from German ancestors, and are, therefore, very slightly related to the zealous clans who listened to the pastoral addresses of the Hibernian Abbot of Iona, and who applauded the independence of Aidan, Finan, and Colman, when assailed by the arguments of the Romish priesthood.

The principal mistake, however, consists in claiming for the Scoto-Irish Christians a degree of firmness, as advocates for primitive customs, which they did not in fact exhibit. The clergy in Ireland, and more particularly in Wales, withstood the arts and solicitations of the Romanists, long after their brethren in North Britain had accepted the new cycle, adopted the tonsure, and even partially acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope. Were it possible, then, that those strenuous supporters of an immaculate faith, who, since the days of Mary Stuart, have done and suffered so much to rescue their countrymen from the dominion of error, could derive any reputation from the labours of men who lived a thousand years before them, it is certain that, in this case at least, they would reap no hereditary applause. The Irish and Picts yielded in the beginning of the eighth century, while the Welsh did not comply till towards the middle of the ninth ¹.

¹ Hales, p. 220.

It would appear, notwithstanding the unanimity which is said to have prevailed among these converts to the Papal usages, that the minds of the Britons were not altogether relieved from doubt as to the validity of the reasoning to which they had at length surrendered their conviction. We are told that, in the days of Methodius, patriarch of Constantinople (about the year 840), certain clergy who dwelt in the isles of the ocean, and the utmost borders of the habitable world, repaired to that capital to inquire after some ecclesiastical traditions, and the exact computation of Easter. From this incident it has been justly inferred that a secret preference of the Greek Church to the Roman, in regard to the right of determining in this particular point, still lurked among the Christians of Ireland, of Scotland, or of Wales¹.

The conference to which the Bishops and Abbots of the last-named country were invited by Augustine is well known, as well as the memorable consequences which are supposed to have resulted from it. In reply to his demand of submission to him, as the primate of England, the superior of the monastery of Bangor thus expressed himself: "As to the subjection you require, be thus persuaded of us, that, in the bond of love and charity, we are all subjects and servants to the Church of God, yea to the Roman Pontiff and every good Christian, to help them forward, both by word and deed, to become the children of God.

¹ Usher's Religion of the Ancient Irish, chap. 10. Hales on the Origin and Purity of the Primitive Church of the British Isles, p. 221.

Other obedience than this we know not to be due to him whom you term the Pope; and this obedience we are at all times ready to give to him and to every good Christian. Besides, we are governed under God by the Bishop of Caerleon, who is appointed to oversee us in all spiritual matters."

Nor was the success more flattering, which arose from an attempt, made about the same time, to gain the prelates of Ireland to the obedience of the Roman See. Gregory sent three episcopal missionaries to accomplish this object, who wrote as follows to the dignitaries of Scotia, the term which at that period was applied to the remoter island. "Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, bishops, servants of the servants of God to our Lords and dearly beloved brethren, the Bishops and Abbots throughout all Scotland." After complaining of the opposition which they had experienced in England, they add, "we knew the Britons, and hope to find the Scots better disposed; but we learned by means of Daganus, the Bishop, who came into this island, and from Columbanus, the abbot, in Gaul, that they differ in nothing from the Britons in their opinions and usages: for Bishop Daganus, when he arrived here, refused not only to eat at the same table with us, but even to take food under the same roof¹.

¹ Bed. lib. ii. c. 4. In what detestation the arrogant claims of Papal Rome were held in Wales especially, we learn from the poems of Taliessin, who, according to Usher, flourished about 620. The following is a translation:—

"Woe be to that priest, yborn,
That will not cleanly weed his corn,
And preach his charge among;

These facts will satisfy the reader that the clergy in Ireland and Wales were not more disposed to admit the ceremonies and authority of Rome than were the Britons north of the Humber, or the Scots who followed the rule of the monk Columba. Indeed, when due attention is paid to the opinions and religious observances of the several nations now specified, no doubt remains that they were the same people, and, moreover, that they received their faith from the same source. We find among them a similar attachment to what they considered the rites of the Primitive Church; a reverence for the fourteenth day of the paschal moon; a prejudice in favour of the ancient mode of shaving the heads of those who were devoted to the service of God; and even the same degree of adherence to the Pelagian heresy, which had acquired a temporary countenance from the Pope. The conclusion, therefore, formed by Laurentius and his coadjutors, was perfectly correct; that the Scots, on either side of the channel, differed in nothing from the Britons in their doctrines and rites, but retained the traditions they had received from the "holy fathers, friends of God, and imitators of the Apostles," with a resolution not less constant and immovable¹.

Woe be to that shepherd, I say,
That will not watch his fold alway
As to his office doth belong;
Woe be to him that doth not keep
From *Romish wolves his erring sheep*,
With staff and weapon strong."

Chronicle of Wales.

Quoted by Hales, Usher, and other writers.

¹ Auctorizabant suas ceremonias non solum a S. Eleutherio,

It is unnecessary to add, that the attempts made by certain modern authors to secure for the Culdees, in North Britain, the merit of opposing the tenets of the Church, as to ceremony and discipline, is entirely destitute of foundation; for, long before this class of monks was known to history, under the appellation now quoted, the injunctions of the Romanists, on all disputed points, were universally obeyed. So far, indeed, as these celebrated anchorites can be identified with the regular clergy who, for two hundred years after the demise of Columba, directed the faith, and maintained the orthodoxy of the ancient Scots, they are justly entitled to the honour which has been lavished upon them. But nothing, in the annals of the obscure period in which their name first appears, is more certain than that the epithet had no particular reference to the institutions of Iona; that, as we have already stated, it was applied generally to all persons among the Britons, of whatever order or rule, who retired to the religious avocations of a cell; and, finally, that the use of it did not become common, as a descriptive or distinguishing term, until the purer motives and more spiritual pursuits of their founders had become considerably tarnished by the mixture of secular ambition. For these reasons, I have endeavoured to avoid the confusion which darkens the pages of some able Scottish writers, who have failed to discriminate between the Columbans, who flourished during the

papa, primo institutore suo, ab ipsa pene infantia Ecclesiæ dicatas, verum a sanctis patribus suis, Dei amicis, et apostolorum sequacibus hactenus observatas.

period which begins at the middle of the sixth and ends at the opening of the ninth century, and the Culdees who, as British and Irish monks, occupy a longer space of time, and a wider geographical range. All the disciples of the Hibernian abbot, it is true, as they were devoted to retirement and pious exercises, might be called Culdees ; but it does not follow that all to whom this latter denomination was assigned, derived their origin or their institute from the monastery at Iona.

In alluding to the theological doctrines of the ancient Church among the northern Britons, it must be unnecessary to mention that, in respect to the fundamental tenets of the Christian faith,—the incarnation and the atonement, as well as the great facts revealed in the evangelical history, the birth, the death, the resurrection, and the ascension of the Redeemer,—there prevailed the utmost harmony of belief. As few specimens of the professional literature of that distant age have reached our times, it is impossible to determine the precise grounds on which the national creed was placed ; whether it was received on the sole authority of the parent communion, who supplied her children in the gospel with a symbol or form of evangelical truth ; or whether the divines of Scotland undertook to establish the several articles of their faith by a direct appeal to the sacred writings. Bede asserts that the followers of Columba were distinguished, not only for pureness of doctrine and sanctity of life, but also for learning ; and that, in their preaching, they drew their arguments, in support of piety and good works, from the compositions of the prophets, the evangelists, and

apostles. Those monks, says he, who dwelt in the island of Hy, freely communicated to the Angles their knowledge of divine things; adding that, "all who went with Bishop Aidan to Northumberland, whether they were clergy or laymen, were bound to exercise themselves either in the reading of Scripture, or in learning psalms¹."

Chrysostom made a similar boast in his days, in regard to the general knowledge of the Bible, which already distinguished the Christian world; averring that, into whatsoever land the traveller might direct his course, whether to the wild shores of the Euxine, to the remote south, to the great ocean, or to the British isles, he would hear the natives pronouncing learned discourses on the Scriptures, in various tongues indeed, but with one faith, and one understanding. The venerable historian of the English Church, in like manner, maintains that, in his own times, the Divine oracles were searched by five different nations, using as many distinct forms of speech; those, namely, of the Angles, the Britons, the Scots, the Picts, and the Latins; observing, in the progress of his narrative, that the language of Rome, owing to the study of the sacred volume, had become common to them all².

The schools or monasteries of Ireland, with their dependent institutions in Britain, received within their walls all who were desirous to learn the word of life, whether in their own tongue, or in that of the inspired author. Various Latin translations were admitted into those seminaries, both from the Hebrew

¹ Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4, 5.

² Ibid. lib. i. c. 1.

and from the Septuagint version, of the Old Testament; and, accordingly, in perusing the works of Sedulius, Claudius, and other of our earliest theologians, the reader will find extracts from the Vulgate alternating with the quotations from the pages of the Seventy, rendered into the language of Livy and Tacitus. The industry of Archbishop Usher has thrown much light on this important subject, and has left no room for doubt that, at a very remote period, the study of biblical literature had risen into high repute, and even conferred a marked distinction on its possessors. In extolling the character of Alfrid, King of Northumberland, Bede has no higher eulogy to pronounce on him than that "he was a man most learned in the Scriptures¹."

There were four versions of the Psalter from the Greek text, and one from the Hebrew, used for Divine worship in those days; citations from which are still to be found in the several tracts and commentaries that have survived the ravages of time and accident. The old Italian, as it was called, was allowed to keep its place in the public service, for the same reasons that determined the heads of the Church, in the reign of King James, to abstain from

¹ Successit Egfrido in regnum Alfrid, vir in scripturis doctissimus. Hist. lib. iv. c. 26. In his Life of St. Cuthbert, he writes concerning the same Prince as follows:—

"Scottorum qui tum versatus incola terris,
Cœlestam intento spirabat corde sophiam.
Nam patriæ fines et dulcia liquerat arva
Sedulus ut Domini mysteria disceret exul."

Vita Cuthberti.

See other authorities quoted by Usher in his work on the "Religion professed by the Ancient Irish," p. 4. 12.

introducing the new translation of the Psalms into the book of Common Prayer; namely, the convenience of the people who were accustomed to recite them in church, and who had thereby committed most of them to memory.

The question which respects the canon of Scripture, or the distinction between the inspired and uninspired writings of the Old Testament, was not yet agitated among the divines of Britain. St. Jerome had already drawn the line between the sacred books, properly so called, and those which he denominated apocryphal or ecclesiastical; but as no authority, recognized in these lands, had interposed to fix the basis on which a satisfactory determination might be founded, considerable freedom was permitted to the exercise of private judgment. All the compositions which bear the name of Solomon were viewed with great reverence, not only as containing lessons of moral wisdom whence men might learn their duty, but even as possessing a certain prophetic import, connected with the purposes of Jehovah in relation to his Church and people. About the beginning of the eleventh century, however, the canon appears to have been much better defined. Marianus Scotus, in his Chronicle, makes a clear distinction between the Divine Scriptures of the Hebrews, and the books of the Maccabees; classing these last with the historical notices of Josephus and Africanus. Still, we find not, in those simple times, any authoritative decision acknowledged by the British clergy, in either island, which could be regarded as fixing the limits of inspiration¹.

¹ Religion of Ancient Irish, pp. 10, 11.

In reviewing the history of opinion on the most important subjects that have employed the ingenuity and learning of mankind, we are not to expect, even among a people comparatively rude, a total abstinence from those speculations which turn upon the prescience of the Almighty, the freedom of the human will, and hence on the nature and limits of that mysterious operation, by means of which the Divine counsels are fulfilled in the voluntary actions of individuals. The doctrines of Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo, seem to have found their way into the monastic seminaries of the West, where the clergy imbibed the elements of philosophy and professional knowledge ; and as they appeared, in many respects, diametrically opposed to the heresy of Pelagius, which had already disturbed the peace of the Church, they were for a time received with avidity, and preached with much zeal. Traces of the dark discussions to which such inquiries necessarily conduct the theological student, may be detected in the sermons of Gallus, and the commentaries of Sedulius and Claudius ; works which have now hardly any other value than as they serve to mark that stage in the progress of a science which, while it invites the highest powers of intellect, exposes their weakness, and perhaps chides their misapplication.

It is not, therefore, without a good foundation in truth, that Protestant writers have maintained that the doctrines promulgated at the period now under our consideration, bore a great resemblance to those advocated by the various Christian societies which, a few centuries afterwards, withdrew from all direct communion with the Romish Church. There is,

however, some degree of injustice in the mode of reasoning by which this position is usually established. The partizan of every particular denomination of believers, which can claim any connection with antiquity, sees, within the limits of his own little field, the germs of that orthodox faith which was destined to spring forth in such healthy vegetation, and to give life and refreshment to thousands of fainting spirits. It is reluctantly admitted that the principles of a sound creed were, at the same epoch, not less zealously maintained at Rome than in the remote provinces of Britain, including the greater and the smaller Scotia; though it was not till a later age, that those false tenets were introduced, which were viewed, not without reason, as inconsistent with the scheme of salvation set forth in the Gospel. To the schoolmen, who, under the darkness which clouded Europe from the tenth to the fifteenth century, wasted their leisure in pursuing minute distinctions in the economy of grace, may be attributed most of the dogmas which alienated the minds of more simple students, as well as the practice of sacrificing to fanciful and recondite meanings the literal import of the sacred writings.

The doctrines of every community may be most successfully studied in their forms of worship, and more especially in the ritual agreeably to which their more solemn ordinances are administered. As the books of devotion used by the primitive Scots were superseded in the twelfth century by an authorized liturgy from Rome, there remains nothing of the former, except some brief quotations, which happen to be preserved in contemporary authors. The

oldest form of prayer to which any allusion is made is that said to have been received by St. Patrick from Lupus and Germanus, and commended by him to his converts in Albyn and Hibernia. According to the fashion of the times, it was attributed to St. Mark, the Evangelist, who is gravely described as having himself chanted it in the service of God. There is less reason to doubt that it was the same which was used by the clergy of the Gallican churches, between whom and their brethren in this island, there was, during that period, a frequent intercourse in all matters pertaining to faith, ceremony, and discipline.

Nor is it improbable that the Britons retained the more ancient manner of reciting their prayers, a considerable time after the Christians on the Continent yielded to certain improvements, as they were esteemed, in the musical accompaniments. Gillibertus and Malachias, the Pope's legates, laboured assiduously to introduce a uniform method in the Irish convents, whence the model was supplied to the Scottish monasteries and churches. The former, in the preface to his work on "Ecclesiastical Usage," addressed to the spiritual communities of Ireland, thus expresses itself:—"At the request of many of you, dearly beloved, I have endeavoured to explain in writing the canonical custom to be observed in saying of hours or stated prayers, as well as in performing the office of the whole ecclesiastical order; not presumptuously, but prompted by the desire to comply with your most pious wishes; to the end, that those diverse and schismatical forms, whereby the greater part of Ireland is deluded, may give

place to one Catholic office, as used at Rome. For what can be held more indecent and schismatical than that the most learned in one order or form, should find himself unable to take a part in the service in another man's church, but should appear like a private person or layman¹?

This reformation in the mode of conducting public worship was further promoted by Malachias, who, as is related by his biographer, established in all churches, not only the apostolical constitutions, and the decrees of the holy fathers, but also the customs observed at Rome. Hence it is, says he, that at this day the Canonical Hours are chanted and sung therein, according to the manner of the whole earth; for, previously to that period, this mode was not followed even in the city where the Bishop himself dwelt. But Malachias had learned song in his youth, and shortly after caused singing to be used in his own monastery, when as yet, neither in the episcopal seat nor in any part of the diocese, had the people learned or consented to chant the praises of God. At length, a special injunction was issued for the right singing of the "Ecclesiastical Office," with instructions that all the parts of Divine Service should be conducted agreeably to the practice of the Anglican Church².

The recitation of the Psalms constituted one of the chief portions of public worship, and hence the

¹ Gilleberti Lumnican. Epis. De Usu Ecclesiast. a manuscript quoted by Usher, in his Religion of the Ancient Irish, p. 32.

² Bernard in Vita Malach. Gerald. Cambron. Hibern. Expug. lib. i. c. 36.

attention bestowed on the music, and the mode of repetition by the officiating clergy. The antiphonal, or alternate method, was gradually preferred, and at length very generally adopted ; and it is probable that many of the regulations just mentioned were intended as well to guide the pious performers in this pleasant part of their duty, as to introduce such a degree of uniformity as would enable the priests of one diocese to join with those of another in the celebration of holy things. It was regarded as no small evil attaching to the older system, that ministers from a distance could not participate with their brethren in the ritual of the Church, but were, owing to their ignorance of the particular usage, placed under the necessity of being mere listeners like private laymen.

It may be observed that, during this period, it was customary to commemorate, in the devotions of the Church, persons who had been eminent for their faith and labours in the gospel. In the Sunday-offices used by Columba in the island of Hy, a prayer was wont to be read in memory of St. Martin, the founder of the monastic life in Britain. The Christians of the north, indeed, as well as of the adjoining provinces of Ireland, were indebted to the same individual for more than the institute by which the affairs of their schools and convents were regulated. His residence in France afforded him the means of supplying them with a liturgy, usually denominated the " Course of the Gauls," which, though it is said to have been communicated by the pious Bishop already named, was more probably confided to the care of his nephew, St. Patrick, the apostle of the

Scots. For these reasons, the name of Martin was pronounced before God, every Lord's-day, as one of those faithful instruments of the Divine goodness, for whose services the gratitude of the Church was perpetually due.

These commemorations naturally led to the question, which was so long and so warmly discussed after the Reformation, as to the belief of the primitive Christians in the pains and atonement of Purgatory. It is maintained by Protestants, that all the religious rites solemnized by the Church had a reference to such persons only as were supposed to pass at once into the state of glory, accompanied thither by choirs of angels, and placed in the immediate presence of God. Adamnanus, in his biography of Columba, relates that the pious Abbot of Iona ordered all things to be prepared for the sacred ministry of the Eucharist, when he had seen the soul of St. Brendan received by the holy angels; and that he did the same when Columbanus, Bishop of Leinster, departed this life; "for I must to-day," saith he, "though I be unworthy, celebrate the holy mysteries of the Eucharist, on account of my veneration for that soul which this night ascended into paradise, carried beyond the starry firmament by sacred hosts of angels."

We find also in Bede an account of similar obsequies performed by St. Cuthbert, upon seeing the soul of his friend Hadwaldus carried by the hands of angels into the joys of the heavenly kingdom. On the death of the abbot, Columbanus, in like manner, we learn that two of his countrymen said mass, and made earnest prayer for his commemoration. One

of these, the Bishop Gallus, addressing himself to his assistant or deacon, relates as follows: "After this night's watch, I understood by a vision, that my master and father, Columbanus, is to-day departed out of the miseries of this life unto the joys of paradise. For his rest, therefore, I ought to offer the sacrifice of salvation." When Gallus himself died, John, Bishop of Constance, performed a similar duty in his behalf; "he intreated one of the presbyters to arise and pray to God earnestly for the repose of the deceased; they entered into the Church, and the Bishop immolated the victim of salvation for their dearest friend¹."

In the pious exercises now described, there is unquestionably a thanksgiving presented to God for having delivered the holy persons to whom they bore a reference, out of the miseries of this sinful world, mixed with prayers that their spirits might rest in peace amidst the joys of paradise. The language in some parts is shrouded in so much ambiguity as to afford to controversialists, on either side, an ample field to take up their positions of attack and defence. There is no direct allusion to the sufferings of purgatory; and yet, to pray for the repose

¹ Post hujus vigiliis noctis cognovi per visionem dominum et patrem meum Columbanum de hujus vitæ angustiis hodie ad Paradisi gaudia commigrasse. Pro ejus itaque requie sacrificium salutis debeo immolare. *Walafrid. Vita Galli*, lib. i. c. 26.

Presbyter eum ut surgeret monuit, et pro requie defuncti ambitiosius Dominum precaretur. Intraverunt itaque ecclesias, et episcopus pro carissimo salutes hostias immolavit amico. *Vita Galli*, lib. i. c. 30.

of a departed soul, and to offer up the sacrifice of the Eucharist in its behalf, are actions which seem to imply that a certain sorrow or anxiety might accompany the flight of the liberated spirit, even towards the regions of immortality ; and also, that the intercessions of the faithful on earth might prove of some avail to its happy reception in those mysterious abodes. But it is manifest that the doctrine of an intermediate state, of which we find traces in the works of all the primitive Fathers, had not yet been rendered subservient to the arts of the covetous, or to the fanciful devices of the superstitious. The scheme of ecclesiastical finance, which subjected to tribute the sins and fears of mankind, was not yet imagined ; though the opinions which it afterwards corrupted and made the basis of its operations, were at this time generally entertained throughout the Christian world ¹.

It is worthy of remark, that the term mass was not, in the sixth and seventh centuries, restricted to the proper service of the altar, but was used also to denote ordinary prayers, whether in the morning or evening. As a proof of this, it will be enough to refer to an incident mentioned by Adamnanus in his Life of Columba. He relates, that the last mass at which the abbot was present, were the

¹ Archbishop Usher observes, " It is plain enough, that in those elder days, it was an usual thing to make prayers and oblations for the rest of those souls which were not doubted to have been in glory ; and consequently, that neither the *commemoration*, nor the *Praying for the dead*, nor the *Requiem Masses*, of that age, had any necessary relation to the belief of *Purgatory*. Religion of Ancient Irish, p. 29.

vespers on the Lord's night; *vespertina* *Dominicæ noctis missa*, an expression which it is not easy to render into modern phrase, owing to the change which most of the words have undergone. But the name, no doubt, was even in those days more especially applied to the administration of the Lord's Supper; and hence the "sacred service of the Eucharist," and the "solemnities of the Mass," were commonly taken for the same thing.

It must have been observed, that the writers from whose works I have just quoted, constantly apply the term "sacrifice" to the celebration of the greater sacrament. It is even called the "sacrifice of salvation;" and the priest who officiated is described as immolating the victim for the health or safety of the soul. Gallus, whose name has been frequently repeated, in connexion with this subject, informed one of his pupils, that his "master Columbanus was accustomed to offer unto the Lord the sacrifice of salvation in brazen vessels." But notwithstanding the use of this language, it is known to every reader of ecclesiastical history, that the tenet of transubstantiation was not yet received in any part of the Church. The sacramental elements were indeed denominated the "body and blood of Christ," and the service of the altar was regarded as being in a certain sense a sacrifice, inasmuch as it commemorated the one oblation which was made upon the cross; but it is equally manifest, that the notion of Paschasius had not yet suggested itself, or at least was not allowed to mix with the orthodox belief, transmitted from the pure fountain of primitive times, relative to the Supper of the Lord. We need not add, that at the

period to which our inquiry now extends, it was customary for the communicants, lay and clerical, to receive the sacrament in both kinds ; remembering the words of the apostle, that as often as Christians “ eat the bread and drink the cup ” presented on the altar, they do show forth the death of their Redeemer. The age of corruption, in regard to these essential points, had not yet arrived, either at Rome itself or in the distant dependencies.

The remote situation of the British churches, the many impediments opposed to travellers in those rude days, and perhaps a general indifference on the part of the people, more especially the Scots, to the ceremonies which were from time to time introduced by the Roman clergy, gave rise to various complaints, that the voice of the Pope was not heard with the deference to which his legates thought it entitled. For example, it was not without reluctance, that the natives of Ireland, and, we may presume, their brethren in North Britain, consented to use the chrism, or holy oil, in the sacrament of baptism.

The rite of initiation was probably practised by the unsophisticated believers in either Scotia, after the simple manner described in the Gospel,—immersion in a running stream, or in a capacious font under the shed where they might meet to worship. The slovenly mode which they adopted in most things seems to have given deep offence to the more civilized priests, who occasionally arrived among them from the great ecclesiastical metropolis. Malachias does not hesitate to assert, that, in some respects, the Irish were not much superior to brute

beasts ; having found it necessary to renew, in many districts of their country, not only “the most wholesome use of confession, and the sacrament of confirmation,” but even the obligation or proper ceremony of marriage. Alcuin, too, in allusion to the Scottish nation, laments that no man of the laity will make his confession to the priests, “whom,” says he, “we believe to have received from the Lord Christ, the power of binding and loosing, together with the holy apostles ¹.”

Nor ought it to be imagined, that this neglect arose from any doctrinal scruples as to the authority or obligation of such practices. The sacred claims of the Church, which men were not yet accustomed to challenge, and the general ignorance of an illiterate people, forbid any such supposition. The omission is in fact ascribed to the rude habits into which the mass of the laity had permitted themselves to sink, and to the carelessness of the priesthood, who had not taken pains to check the culpable indolence of their flocks. The use of confession, there is reason to believe, was common in the British Churches at an earlier period. Adamnanus relates, for instance, that a certain individual, smitten with remorse for some offence perpetrated by him, fell at the feet of Columba, and acknowledged his sins before all who were present. Whereupon, the holy man, mixing his tears with those of the penitent, is reported to have said, “Rise up, son, and be com-

¹ In this passage, Usher is of opinion, that Alcuin wrote *Goti*, and not *Scoti*, meaning the people of Languedoc, where the author lived, and who were of Gothish descent.

forted ; the sins which thou hast committed are forgiven, because a contrite and a humbled heart God doth not despise." Adamnanus himself, terrified with the remembrance of a crime of which he had been guilty in early life, went to a priest, to whom he made confession, and whose counsel he solicited, in order to escape the wrath of God due to his transgression. Penances were also regulated according to the nature and extent of the faults for which they were imposed ; and these being properly observed, were in fit time followed by the sacerdotal absolution. Claudius, an author to whose opinions I have repeatedly alluded, states as the doctrine of the Christian world, at the time in which he lived, that "the office of remitting and retaining sins, which was given unto the apostles, is now committed to the Bishops and Presbyters in every Church ; so as, for example, having acquainted themselves with the cases of such as have violated the law of God, they may absolve from the fear of everlasting death those whom they shall find humble and truly penitent, while they may declare to be bound over to never-ceasing punishment every one who seems resolved to persist in his sin ¹."

Viewing the question through the medium of the facts now related, it will appear less probable that either penance or marriage was discontinued among the Britons, than that these rites, not being yet ele-

¹ Adamnan. *Vita Columb.* lib. i. c. 16. Bed. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. c. 25. Synod. Pat. Auxil. et Issernin. a manuscript quoted by Usher. Claud. in Matth. Usher on Religion of Ancient Irish, p. 48.

vated to the rank of sacraments, were therefore held as in some degree invalid by the Papal legates. This is the opinion of Archbishop Usher, who justly considers it as a thing almost incredible, that the solemnization of matrimony was either unknown or neglected among the Irish, before the arrival of Malachias.

It is not unknown to any one who has perused the primitive annals of the Christian Church, that many Jewish ceremonies were for a considerable time retained by the followers of the apostles. Among these, especially in Eastern countries, were circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath as a day of rest, various oblations imposed under the sanction of religion, the shaving of part of the head among the priests, and the obligation upon the sons of the same family to marry the childless widow of a deceased brother. In those communities, accordingly, which were long separated from the great body of the faithful who flourished in the more enlightened parts of Europe, traces of the ancient practices might be detected, fifteen centuries after the commencement of our era. For example, the Scots or Irish regarded the Mosaical institution as still binding in respect to the usage last mentioned ; for which unchristian interpretation of the Old Testament they are severely reprimanded by Giraldus Cambrensis, who describes their conduct as being opposed not only to the faith, but also to common decency¹. The same

¹ The language of the original has a peculiarity in its form, which cannot be transferred into English. "*Fratres pluribus per Hiberniam locis fratrum defunctorum uxores, non dico du-*

people likewise began their day with the setting of the sun, and accordingly commenced the devotions appropriated to Sunday with the vespers of the previous evening ; a distinction, which, though originally founded on a Jewish principle, has descended, under certain modifications, even to our own times.

In delineating the ritual, usages, and doctrines, of the Ancient Scottish Church, it has been found necessary, in the absence of native authors, to rely chiefly on the writings of Bede, who was well acquainted with the ecclesiastical affairs of North Britain, the boundaries of which, in those days, extended occasionally even beyond the banks of the Wear, the place of his residence. Again, as the learning which shed so favourable a light on the western parts of Scotland was derived from the opposite shores, whence also most of the fathers of her renovated faith migrated, in the character of monks and missionaries, we may with perfect confidence view the history of opinion and practice in the one country, as reflected from that of the other, at corresponding periods. Adamnanus, Sedulius, and Claudius, together with many other divines who adorned the professional literature of those times, are called Scots ; the convenient ambiguity of which term carries the reader through many difficulties that impede the biography of our national saints : and

cunt, sed traducunt, imo verius seducunt ; dum turpiter eas, et tam incestuosè cognoscunt." Geral. Camb. Topograp. Hiber. Distinct. iii. c. 19.

this without exposing him to any material error, in relation to the progress of Christianity among the several tribes, on either side of the narrow channel, to whom the epithet was long indiscriminately applied.

To every candid reader it must have appeared, that although considerable reluctance was manifested in the reception of certain usages, such as the paschal cycle, the tonsure, and perhaps the oil in baptism, the doctrines of the Scottish Church were not different from those of other communions, in regard to the articles of the Roman creed, at that time the standard of faith and orthodoxy throughout Christendom. Nor has there been found in the ritual and liturgies of the northern Britons any material deviation from the practice adopted elsewhere, in the forms of Divine worship. The hymn and the prayers were chanted in the college of Iona, in a manner strictly similar to that which was followed at Canterbury, Lyons, and on the banks of the Tiber; varying in nothing but the greater or less magnificence with which the priests appeared before the altar, or the skill displayed in the harmony of their recitation. Saints were commemorated, and the "sacrifice of salvation" was offered up, under the straw roof which covered the disciples of Columba, with feelings in no respect different from those which animated the same services, when performed beneath the splendid domes erected by Constantine, or consecrated by Gregory. The constitution of the Church, too, so far as the circumstances of a poor and semi-barbarous country would permit its development, was the same among

the Scots as in Gaul and Italy; the Bishops and Presbyters of which, while they acknowledged a communion of faith and hope with all true believers, were ever ready to assert their independence of all foreign power.

CHAPTER III.

EXHIBITING THE GENERAL CONDITION OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH, FROM THE SIXTH CENTURY TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF STUART IN THE FOURTEENTH.

Anglo-Saxon Church superseded in some parts the old British—Period of darkness—Authority of the Pope—Clergy resided with Bishops—Generally in convents—Humble structures for churches—Formation of parishes involved in great obscurity—Some notices relative to Northumbria—Parishes usually determined by the boundaries of manors—Episcopal See removed from Abernethy to St. Andrew's—Cathedral said to have been erected at Glasgow in the sixth century—Convention of Scone—Struggles with the Pope—Firmness of King Alexander in regard to the appointment of a Bishop—Dispute about investiture—Supremacy claimed by the Archbishop of York—This claim connected with the question of feudal superiority—The opinion of certain historians on this subject—Council at Norham—Meeting at Northampton—Speech of the Canon of Moray—Dispute between William the Lion and the Pope—Good conduct of Bishop Scott—Council held by the Papal legate at Perth—Kingdom placed under an Interdict—Reconciliation—Taxes imposed by the Pope on clerical revenues—Honorius III. appoints Bishops with metropolitan powers, under the title of Conservators—Renewed opposition to the legates—Conduct of Edward I.—Two cardinal legates sent into England—Mission to King Robert Bruce—Rage of John XXIV., who excommunicates the Scots—Doctrines and learning of the age—Foundation of Episcopal Sees.

THE establishment of the Anglo-Saxon Church, under the auspices of prelates who exercised their

authority in the name of the Pope, had the effect of throwing the more ancient communions among the Britons into comparative obscurity. After the difference of opinion in regard to the ceremonies had been settled by the determination of the Northumbrian King, the Irish missionaries returned to their college at Iona; and the influence of Wilfrid, who was soon afterwards raised to the see of York, became every day more extended and confirmed. The subsequent reception, too, of the cycle and the tonsure by the Scots, paved the way for farther concessions, until at length the power of the Roman Pontiff was acknowledged in all parts of the island.

A long period of silence and inaction succeeded these zealous efforts to propagate the faith, which marked the course of the sixth century. When the reader of ecclesiastical history has passed the epoch which fell under the notice of the Venerable Bede, he finds very little either certain or interesting to engage his attention, till he reaches the times of James V., when the religious controversies which had already agitated the centre of Europe began to excite discussion in the remote provinces of North Britain. During seven hundred years, a cloud of thick darkness, accompanied with a corresponding degree of repose, hung over the Scottish Church. The election of a Bishop, or the rival claims of ambitious monks, might, indeed, occasionally interrupt the peace of a particular diocese; but no record remains to gratify the curiosity of the theological student, in respect to the opinions which must have diversified the professional pursuits of the clergy, in their colleges and cells. Judging from the unifor-

mity which appears to have prevailed in doctrine and usage, we may conclude, that, in those uninquiring ages, the authority of the Roman See was never disputed by any order of the priesthood; the only cause of dissension which embroiled the passions of men devoted to holy things, being confined to the interference of those hordes of friars, who, under various denominations, and professing different rules, molested the officiating ministers, and frequently set at defiance the jurisdiction of the Bishops.

As a proof that the Christians in North Britain joined with those in the South, in recognizing the superintendence of the Pope, it is mentioned by ecclesiastical writers, that early in the eighth century, Fergustus, who is described as a Pietish Bishop, and Sedulius, a prelate of the Scottish or Irish nation, attended a Synod held at Rome under Gregory II.

But the scantiness of the materials which have descended to our days, with regard to the Church before the accession of Kenneth M'Alpine, renders it impossible either to delineate the connexion which subsisted between it and the civil government, or to explain the system according to which the ministrations of religion were conducted throughout the country. At Lindisfarne, while under the jurisdiction of the Scoto-Irish prelates, the clergy resided with the Bishop, as in primitive times, and went forth into different parts of the diocese, to baptize, instruct, and perform other professional duties, as the wants of the people might require. Bede relates, that such was the practice during the superintendence of Bishop Colman. The priests and dea-

cons, he assures us, went to the villages, to preach, to visit the sick, and to exercise generally the cure of souls; adding, that wherever they came, the inhabitants assembled around them to hear the word of life. It may be presumed, that a similar method was pursued at Iona, where Colman and his clergy were educated, as well as in all the other cathedrals and monastic establishments founded at that early period in North Britain ¹.

The residence of the officiating members of the priesthood was usually fixed either in a convent or in its immediate neighbourhood; and hence the fact, that monks in most places became at once the instructors of the younger ministers, and the Dean and Chapter of the Bishops. The church itself was commonly a very simple edifice, constructed of wood, and thatched with reeds or straw. Such at least was the cathedral, as we find it denominated, in Holy Island, when Northumberland constituted one of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy; and there is no reason to believe that the successors of Ninian and Columba were provided with more splendid structures. Generally speaking, indeed, the Anglo-Saxon minsters were not fabricated of materials in any degree more costly.

It must be obvious that, before the institution of parishes, the clergy acted under their Bishop as local missionaries; officiating wherever a suitable number of persons could be brought together, or where a birth, sickness, or death, called for their occasional

¹ Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 26. Skinner's Eccles. History, vol. i. p 150.

services. It is a matter of perfect indifference whether the district over which the cares of the chief minister extended, was then called diocese or parish; for, in either case, the term was applied to the tract of country which surrounded the seat of the Bishop, whether at a convent or cathedral. But when, at a later period, that district was subdivided into smaller charges with separate churches, each of which was committed to the pastoral care of a presbyter, the meaning of the two words became fixed and appropriate. Parish—an expression which denotes the land around the house or place of worship—was always used with a reference to the subordinate and delegated incumbency; while diocese, importing a species of rule and jurisdiction, was never employed by ecclesiastical writers, but in relation to the authority of the Bishop over the whole territory originally attached to the metropolitan or mother Church¹.

Scottish history affords no certain information as to the time or the manner in which the bounds of parishes were determined in the North. According to Camden, the southern part of the island was so divided by Archbishop Honorius about the year 630. Hobart, again, affirms that the Council of Lateran, held in 1179, first erected parishes. But, Mr. Selden has proved satisfactorily that the clergy lived in common long after the middle of the seventh cen-

¹ Palgrave remarks that, in England, after the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, "a Bishop was first appointed for each people, or for each dominion, and the limits of the state became the boundary of the diocese."—*Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, part i. p. 155.

tury ; while, from several Saxon laws still in existence, it appears manifest that parishes were formed at least before the end of the twelfth. In fact, an allusion to that ecclesiastical arrangement occurs in the statutes of King Edgar, who reigned in the tenth century. Theodore, the celebrated Archbishop of Canterbury, is said to have attempted the creation of a parochial clergy ; and it is not improbable that he may have succeeded in the southern and more cultivated portion of the island. Egbert, the Archbishop of York, notices the existence of parish churches, which had already obtained an endowment of tithes, distinct, as it should seem, from the cathedral ; and he provides that these foundations should not be deprived of their dues, in favour of new places of worship. Every such erection was to be endowed with one entire "mansus," or as much land as was usually held by a ceorl or customary tenant ; but for which glebe no secular service was to be rendered, nor any tribute or taxation to be paid.

As the regulations of this prelate extended over the whole kingdom of Northumbria, a state which, in the eighth century, comprehended a considerable portion of Scotland, it is not improbable that it was to Egbert the church of the Scoto-Saxons owed the institution of a parochial clergy. The canons of the Archbishop were afterwards modified by Edgar and Canute, whose statutes permitted every Thane to build a church upon his land, and to endow it with one-third of the tithes, if a burial-ground were annexed ; but, if it had not this appendage, he was bound to continue the payment of tithes to the mother-Church, and to provide for the new establish-

ment from other sources. These rules, it is likely, had a respect to the foundation of parish churches, on the one hand, and of private chapels or oratories, on the other. In regard to the first, when a manor was created by a donation of territory, it would in many cases become expedient that the tenants and other occupiers of the soil should have a separate place of worship; and the desire that the civil and ecclesiastical authorities should not be at variance, would induce the landlord to endow the new fabric from his own estate; a privilege which was granted to him, with some attention to the rights of the existing incumbent. In the second instance, while the law permitted the Thane to found a private oratory, it forbade him to bestow the income of the parish-priest upon a domestic chaplain¹.

There seems to be much reason in the opinion of a learned author, who thinks that the boundaries of parishes were generally determined by those of the manors or large estates of which they principally consisted. In proportion as Christianity extended among the labouring class, the landlords felt an additional motive to build churches upon their demesnes, or wastes, for the accommodation of their dependents; and, in order that Divine Service might be regularly performed, they obliged their tenants to appropriate their tithes to the maintenance of the officiating minister, instead of distributing them as formerly among the clergy of the diocese at large. The tract of land, the tithes of which were so appro-

¹ Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, pp. 156, 157.

priated, constituted a distinct parish; an arrangement which, it has been thought, accounts for the irregularity of the outline, which prevails in some of these ecclesiastical partitions; for if a Thane had a piece of ground detached from the body of his estate, but too small for a separate parochial charge, he very naturally applied the tithes to the farther endowment of his newly-erected church¹.

As the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York included the southern Lowlands, from the river Tweed to the sources of the Forth and the estuary of the Clyde, it may be presumed that, after a suitable interval, the example of the Anglo-Saxons was followed by the great landowners of the North. But on this subject, as well as the original distribution of the dioceses of Scotland, the utmost obscurity prevails. Till a period comparatively late, the greater part of the country, though nominally united under one sovereign, was in reality governed by the heads of a few noble families; who, even singly, felt themselves, on some occasions, sufficiently powerful to dispute the royal prerogative. In such circumstances, the existence of a national Church, in the proper acceptation of the term, could have no place. There was nowhere an authority, possessing enough of vigour to defend the rights or to secure the maintenance of the clergy, beyond the precincts of a palace, or the sacred grounds of a convent. During a considerable time, therefore, after a diocesan episcopacy was established in the South, and magnificent

¹ Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, book i. p. 113.

cathedrals had been erected for the stated performance of Divine Service, the prelates of Caledonia sought an asylum in monasteries, and only went forth into the surrounding district, when called to the discharge of such duties as were peculiar to their order. It was not till the reign of Malcolm the Third, in the eleventh century, that any attempt was made to define the territorial limits of episcopal jurisdiction ; and even this applied but to a small part of Scotland.

When the strength of the kingdom was in some measure consolidated by the union of the Scots and Picts, the son of Alpine removed the episcopal seat from Abernethy to St. Andrews. The latter city, it is well known, received its name from the tradition, long current among the natives, that the bones of the Apostle, their patron saint, were carried thither from Greece, by the monk Regulus. As yet there was no Archbishop in Scotland ; for which reason Kenneth thought proper to confer a species of primacy on the occupant of this see, and gave him the title of " Maximus Scotorum Episcopus," the chief Bishop of the Scots. It is not unworthy of notice that the original conversion of the people to the Christian faith was sometimes ascribed to Regulus, or St. Rule as he was more commonly called. In the celebrated letter addressed to the Pope by the Barons of Scotland, in defence of their independency against the claims of Edward I., they date their first reception of the Gospel at the period which witnessed the arrival of that adventurous friar. The legend of King Donald and of the missionaries from Victor the Pope, was either entirely disregarded by those warlike

controversialists, or, which is more probable, was not yet invented by the monkish writers of the church.

We read that a cathedral was erected at Glasgow and amply endowed, so early as the sixth century, when Kentigernus, a distinguished preacher of the Faith, took up his residence in that remote part of the Cumbrian dominions. An air of truth is thrown over this statement, otherwise not very probable, by the "Inquisition of David, Prince of Cumberland, made in the year 1116." The object of this search was to ascertain and recover the lands which had been originally granted to the foundation now mentioned. Influenced by the love of God, and partly by his regard for the clergy, the royal youth caused an inquiry to be made concerning the lands pertaining to the Church of Glasgow, throughout all the provinces of Cumbria, which were also under his dominion and subjection; eagerly desiring to leave to posterity a restoration of those possessions which had formerly belonged to the Church. "He, therefore, with the advice and assistance of all the old and wise men of all Cumbria, has, as far as he was able, found out the lands after described." The grants here alluded to, and which were declared upon oath to have been the property of the Bishop and Chapter, were situated in various parts of Cumberland, Lanark, and Peeblesshire¹.

¹ Chartulary of the Bishopric of Glasgow, vol. i. p. 1, in the University Library: and Gibson's History of Glasgow, Appendix, No. 1. It must not be concealed, however, that doubts have been entertained respecting the authenticity of the document, entitled "Inquisitio Davidis." Keith's Catalogue, *See of Glasgow*; and Sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collections.

In the reign of Constantine, the son of Kenneth, a convocation was held at Scone, where, among other things, it was enacted, that the clergy should reside upon their charges, and have no meddling in secular business ; that they should instruct the people diligently, and give good example in their conversation ; that they should not keep hawks, hounds, nor horses of pleasure ; that they should not carry weapons, nor be pleaders of civil causes, but should live contentedly on their own provisions : and if they were found to transgress on any of these points, they were to be fined for the first fault, and for the second, deprived of their office and living ¹.

From these laws we may infer that, towards the end of the ninth century, there were fixed charges allotted to individual clergymen ; and, moreover, that the ecclesiastical constitution had now assumed such a regular form, in connection too with the civil government, as to exercise a power both legislative and executive. But it is manifest, at the same time, that the authority of the Papal See was now universally acknowledged in the north as well as the south. As a proof of this, we find a Bishop-elect repairing to Rome for confirmation at the hands of his Holiness ; although, in other matters, which affected their personal interests, the clergy were neither so obsequious nor obedient. In the great controversy, for

¹ Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 25. There were other statutes passed for redressing abuses, some of which appear rather too severe ; such as " that drunkenness should be punished with death ; that none should eat above one meal a day, nor accustom themselves to ly softly, nor use any recreations, but such as might inure them to sufferance and labour."

example, which was maintained in regard to the celibacy of persons in holy orders, the Scots resolutely opposed the arguments of St. Dunstan and his ghostly assessors at Calne, where the question was formally debated. It is true, that, in this point, not less than in the tonsure and paschal calendar, they in the end found it expedient to yield to the reasoning, the importunity, or, perhaps, the intimidation urged upon them by their antagonists. But, in every case, they canvassed the injunctions of the Pope with so much boldness, as to leave no doubt on the minds of his representatives, that they had not yet been induced to repose implicit confidence either in his wisdom or his infallibility.

The twelfth century was distinguished by a variety of struggles between the ambition of the Pontiff and the independent spirit which still animated many of the churches that he had laboured to subject to his authority. On the death of Turgot, Bishop of St. Andrew's, the Scottish King, Alexander the First, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, desiring his advice and assistance on the choice of a successor ; insinuating, at the same time, that his brother of York was too much disposed to interfere in the concerns of the northern communion. Ralph, or Rodolph, the Primate of all England, after some delay, recommended Eadmer as a fit person to be elevated to the vacant see.

He was accordingly elected by the clergy and laity of the metropolitan diocese, with the full concurrence of his Majesty ; and every thing proceeded in the greatest harmony, until the monk expressed his desire in very strong terms to be consecrated by the

Archbishop of Canterbury. In truth, that measure appears to have been one of the conditions on which Eadmer was sent into Scotland. Rodolph, in his letter to Alexander, says, " we commend unto you the person whom you have desired, and place him in your hands so free, that you may lay on him what charge you will, so as it be to the honour of God, and to the credit of the mother church of Canterbury. Do therefore what you purpose wisely, and remit him unto us with diligence to be consecrated ; because delay in that errand may breed impediments which we wish to eschew ¹."

But Alexander had determined that the Bishop-elect should not receive the episcopal benediction at the hands of the English primate ; because, by consenting to such an arrangement, he must have virtually surrendered the independence of the Scotian Church, and frustrated the very object which he wished to accomplish by precluding the interposition of the Archbishop of York. This last, indeed, who considered his rights invaded, had already used all legal means to prevent the consecration of Eadmer, as having been chosen and confirmed without his consent. In these circumstances, it was determined, upon an earnest representation of the Scottish nobles, that the investiture should take place in the meantime, so far at least as such a proceeding implied the possession of the temporal authority and revenue. To reconcile the conflicting claims of the Church and monarch, it was agreed, that the new prelate should receive the ring out of

¹ Spotswood, p. 35. Eadmer Hist. lib. v. 6.

the King's hand ; but that, as the crosier implied a pastoral charge, to which he could not be appointed by a layman, however exalted his rank, he was allowed to take it from the altar, on which it had been purposely placed.

This expedient, however, failed to remove the ground of dissension which subsisted between Alexander and the pupil of Rodolph. The former would not give his consent to a foreign consecration ; while the latter, fired by the opposition which he had encountered, declared that, " not for the bishopric, nay, not for all Scotland, would he relinquish the honour of being a monk of Canterbury." He therefore delivered back the ring which he had received from his Majesty, replaced the crosier on the altar, and returned into his native country. It is said, that, on reflection, he repented of this hasty conduct, and expressed his readiness to comply with the wishes of the King ; but the attempt to regain his position proved altogether fruitless, for a recommendation to the Chapter was already issued in favour of the Prior of Scone, who was regularly elected to the see ¹.

In this case, it should seem, as well as in the former, certain obstacles must have intervened to postpone the consecration, which did not take place until after the death of Alexander ; an interval of more than two years from the period of election. On the accession of David I., this solemn duty was performed by Thurstin, Archbishop of York, who did not, however, insist upon the oath of canonical

¹ Spotswood, p. 36.

obedience. The Scottish historians maintain, that on this occasion "the privileges of both Churches were reserved." One of them adds, that such consecration would not have been permitted, if Alexander had lived; "for he was a prince who stood much upon his royalty, and would not endure at any hand the least encroachment upon either his kingdom or the Church¹."

This controversy as to the investiture is deserving of a few remarks, as being a subject of general interest, and which is known to have created a considerable sensation among the Christian states of Europe at the epoch to which our inquiries are now directed. As the Church received its endowments from princes and other chiefs, who were induced to alienate part of their lands for this purpose, the spirit of the feudal system demanded in return some acknowledgment of dependence, and even of servitude. The symbols of a ring and staff were used, to denote at once the obligation under which the incumbent placed himself to perform certain duties, and the authority which was conveyed to him to enforce the rights which belonged to his office. This ceremony, which appeared to trench on the spiritual prerogative, gave great offence to Pope Gregory VII.; who laboured earnestly to obliterate every trace of the superiority which the civil power might pretend to exercise over the Church. This object was pursued so steadily by his successors, that, about the beginning of the twelfth century, Paschal II. pro-

¹ Spotswood, as above. Collier's Church History, book iii. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 264.

nounced a formal excommunication against any bishop who should receive investiture from a layman, or who should hold professional intercourse with such as had violated that sacred rule.

On the side of the Pope, it was argued, that the Church, being a spiritual society, was necessarily independent of the state; that she had received her powers from Christ, and could not therefore yield them to the prince; that it was sacrilege in the civil government to demand any acknowledgment of vassalage from the clergy, and simony in the latter to make it; that such encroachments destroyed the ecclesiastical constitution, and tended to cancel a charter which could boast a divine origin. To corroborate these arguments, Paschal produced the decrees of his predecessors, Victor and Zephyrinus, in confirmation of the immunities of Holy Church.

This question was not confined to Scotland; but it was there connected with another, which perplexed the several views taken of it by the supporters of the mitre, as well as of the crown. The Archbishop of York claimed supremacy over the Church in the northern division of the island, in virtue of his succession to the patrimony of St. Cuthbert, which, at an early period, comprehended all the lands between the Humber and the Clyde. It has been already remarked, that the territorial limits of the ecclesiastical rulers were generally determined by those of the political sovereignties into which the country was divided; and as the kingdom of Northumbria included a large portion of the Scottish lowlands, the jurisdiction of the Archbishop stretched in that direction to a similar extent. There was never any

doubt, accordingly, that the dioceses of Glasgow and Galloway belonged to the province of York. But, as neither the Northumbrian prince nor the Bishop of Lindisfarne had ever any recognised authority beyond the Forth, the claim of the Anglo-Saxon prelate to consecrate and govern in the districts situated on the farther side of that river, had not the slightest foundation; and it was entirely owing to a systematic neglect of the distinction now mentioned, that the Primate of England grasped at a power which did not belong to him, and that, on the other hand, his rule was occasionally opposed where it would have been legitimately exercised.

In short, the subjection of the Scottish Church to the see of York originated in the same circumstances which gave occasion to the homage so long rendered by the northern kings to the sovereigns of England. The Caledonia of ancient times, as has been already stated, was bounded on the south by the Firth of Forth, the *Mars Scotticum* of old writers, and by a line of hills and marshes which connected that estuary with an arm of the Atlantic, on the west. The country which intervened between the southern extremity of the Grampians, and the Tweed, comprehending nine or ten counties of modern Scotland, constituted part of Cumbria and Northumbria, and was governed by an Anglo-Saxon prince. At a subsequent period, the territorial distribution of the two nations was altered, and a large portion of the land which had belonged to the heptarchy, and even owned the imperial sway of the Saxon Bretwalda, was ceded permanently to the Scottish crown, on the usual conditions of fealty and service.

But it does not appear that sufficient pains were taken on that occasion to secure the supremacy of the Archbishop of York over the churches which had been founded in his province ; which, as has been repeatedly observed, was conterminous with the kingdom of Northumberland. As time advanced, difficulties augmented, and doubts increased ; for the power of the Scottish monarchs gradually extended northwards, as well as in the direction of the Solway and the Cheviots, rendering the name of the country which they governed a term of very ambiguous import. The nation governed by Kenneth M'Alpine was not the same, in point of limits, as that under William the Lion ; while the latter differed very considerably from the dominion which submitted to the rule of the Stuarts, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Hence the dispute about homage to the English crown, and obeisance to the archiepiscopal see, was long maintained, chiefly on account of the vagueness of the language in which the subject was discussed. The Scotland over which Malcolm III. ruled, was formed principally of districts which had been subdued by the Anglo-Saxons, and were therefore properly called English, and in point of fact were not less so than Westmoreland and Lancashire ; whereas the Scotland which owned the sovereignty of James IV. comprehended the whole northern division of the island, to the Pentland Sound and the shores of the Western Sea. For the latter portion of his kingdom, that, namely, beyond the Forth and the Grampians, no Scottish prince, in ordinary times, was ever asked to do homage ; and had the subject

been properly understood in the days of Alexander and Rodolph of Canterbury, the question of supremacy would not have been agitated. In truth, this prelate had not the shadow of an argument on which to rest his pretensions. His brother of York had indeed a right to interpose his counsel and offer his assistance in all ecclesiastical affairs, within the limits of his ancient diocese ; and it was obviously to avoid the exercise of an official authority, which without rudeness or even violence, he knew not how to oppose, that the King determined to consult Ralph, rather than the still more ambitious Thurstin, who claim he was unwilling to admit.

In the reign of the Third Malcolm, when Lothian was permanently attached to the northern sovereignty, the limits of the country which owned his government, as well as the names of the different provinces that composed it, varied year after year. Part of the lands north of the Tweed were called Saxony, because they were occupied by a German people ; while the remains of the British kingdom in the west were indicated by the general appellation of Strath-Clyde. There was still a separation between Scotia, the province originally possessed by the Irish settlers, and Lothian, the district subdued by the Angles and Danes ; and long after they were united under the government of one king, they exhibited the most striking discrepancy in customs, manners, and language. The Gael bore an inveterate dislike to the Saxons, though recognised as their fellow-subjects ; while the Teutonic inhabitants of the coast returned their hatred, mixed with a feeling of contempt and horror.

The claim of supremacy is placed on a ground somewhat different by the ancient historians ; who assert, that when Pope Gregory divided the whole island into two ecclesiastical provinces, he confided to the Archbishop of York all the dioceses north of the Trent and Humber. This statement does not, in fact, imply any thing materially at variance with the explanation just given ; for, in the days of that Pontiff, there were no episcopal sees in the country now called Scotland, if we except Galloway and Glasgow ; and both of these were uniformly admitted to belong to the province of York, as being part of the Cumbrian or ancient British Church. The dispute had a reference to newer establishments, in a different part of the kingdom : and as these did not exist when the jurisdiction of the Saxon Archbishop was conferred, they could not possibly be made subject to it¹.

Whatever value might be attributed to the arrangement of Gregory, it does not appear that any effort was made by the northern metropolitan to establish his authority in Scotland, till the election of Eadmer as Bishop of St. Andrew's : while the opposition shown by Alexander to the interference of either of the English prelates, expired with himself. His successor David invited or permitted the services of Thurstin ; on the understanding, it should seem, that this instance should not be construed into a precedent, and that, as we have already seen, the oath of canonical obedience should not be imposed. This compromise secured the peace of the clergy

¹ Bed. lib. i. c. 27. Skinner, vol. i. p. 258.

till the next reign; when Roger, the Archbishop of York, availing himself of the mild temper of Malcolm IV., exercised the power with which he was invested as the Pope's legate, in summoning the heads of the Scottish Church to a provincial council to be held at Norham. Submitting to his legatine authority, delegates appeared from the several dioceses, prepared for the discussion which, they had reason to believe, the ambitious prelate meant to introduce. Here the question of metropolitan supremacy was debated at great length and with considerable warmth on both sides; when, finding that they could not arrive at a satisfactory determination, they agreed to remit the litigated points to the judgment of the Roman conclave. To maintain their cause before the Pope, the Scots sent Ingelram, Archdeacon of Glasgow, one of their representatives at Norham; who succeeded so well in conducting the argument in the presence of his Holiness, that the latter was induced, by a formal Bull, to declare the Church of Scotland exempted from all jurisdiction, but that of the Apostolic See itself. As the diocese of Glasgow became vacant while Ingelram was yet on the Continent, he was elected Bishop in his absence, and consecrated by the hands of the Pope, notwithstanding the reclamation of Roger and his adherents in Britain¹.

The controversy remained in a state of quiescence till the capture of William, surnamed the Lion;

¹ Spotswood observes, that the Bull, beginning "*Alexander P. servus servorum Dei Malcolm Regi*," &c. is still in existence.

who, as the price of his liberation, consented to deliver into the hands of Henry II. his principal fortresses, and even to hold his kingdom of him as lord superior. The Archbishop, who had not forgotten the triumph obtained over him in the capital of the Christian world, seized this opportunity to recover the ground he had lost, and to secure his ascendancy over the northern prelates. Nor was the King adverse to the policy which the other meant to pursue. We are accordingly told by an ecclesiastical historian, that when William waited on him at York, "to do homage for the kingdom of Scotland, after the custom of other homagers, a deputation from the clergy did, at the same time, consent and grant, that the Church of England should have that superiority and jurisdiction over the Church of Scotland, which in right she ought to have; and that they would never oppose her just privileges and pre-eminences. To which agreement the bishops and clergy at large were to give the same security ¹."

Whether these delegates had exceeded their powers, or whether the proceedings now stated have not been accurately reported, certain it is, that the submission to which they bound their brethren was very soon shaken off. The following year a meeting was held at Northampton, which William regularly attended, accompanied by most of the bishops and abbots of Scotland. But when Henry required these prelates, in virtue of the allegiance which they had sworn to him, to make due acknowledgment also of their subjection to the Church, they replied,

¹ Hollinshed.

that "they had never professed any subjection to the Church of England, neither were they obliged to make any such acknowledgment." The rivalry of the two archbishops, both of whom were present, prevented the King from pressing his demand; and the Scots were allowed to retire, without recognizing the supremacy of the Southern Church, or the right of any of her governors to exercise jurisdiction beyond the confines of their respective provinces ¹.

The narrative of Spotswood varies in several particulars from that now given on the authority of Hollinshed, Collier, and Lloyd. Following Boëce, he relates, that at Norham, in the year 1176, both Kings were present, and that Henry dealt earnestly with the clergy of Scotland, to accept the Archbishop of York for their metropolitan; a proposal which was rejected on the pretence, that, in the absence of the great body of their brethren, they had not power to sanction any determination on a matter of such deep importance. Relying on the same source of information, he adds, that the Council which met the succeeding year at Northampton, was summoned by Hugo, Cardinal of Saint-Angelo, who, in quality of legate, had been deputed by the Pope to correct such abuses as he should find existing in the two Churches of Britain. The Scottish Bishops being cited by his apparitors in due form, obeyed the injunction with suitable respect ².

The assembly being met, and all placed accord-

¹ Spotswood, p. 37.

² Collier's Eccles. History, book v. Boeth. lib. xiii. Leslie, lib. vi. Lloyd Hist. Account, chap. i. p. 46.

ing to their rank, the Cardinal, who had his seat somewhat higher than the rest, made a long speech in commendation of humility and obedience, "showing what excellent virtues these are, and how much to be desired by men of spiritual profession; whereof, when he had talked a while, he came, in the end, to persuade the clergy of Scotland to submit themselves to the Primate of York: which he said was a thing very convenient for them, and would turn to their ease and commodity; for having no superiour among themselves, nor Metropolitan to decide the controversies that possibly might happen, there could be none fitter than their neighbour the Archbishop of York, a prelate of great respect, and one whose credit at the Court of Rome might serve them to good use; therefore he besought them to lay aside all grudges and emulations, and dispose themselves to live in all times after as members of one and the same Church."

The Bishops, it is said, unwilling to offend the Legate, remained some time in silence, when a young man, a canon of the diocese of Moray, rose and spoke to the following effect: "The Church of Scotland, ever since the faith of Christ was embraced in that kingdom, hath ever been a free and independent Church, subject to none but the Bishop of Rome, whose authority we refuse not to acknowledge. To admit any other for our metropolitan, especially the Archbishop of York, we neither can nor will; for, notwithstanding the present peace, which we wish may long continue, wars may break out betwixt the two kingdoms; and if it shall so fall out, neither

will he be able to discharge any duty amongst us, nor can we safely and without suspicion resort to him. For the controversies which you, my lord Cardinal, say may arise among ourselves, we have learned and wise prelates, who can determine the same; and if they should be deficient in their duties, we have a good and religious King, who is able to keep all things in frame and order, so we have no necessity of any stranger to be set over us. And I cannot think that either his Holiness hath forgotten, or that you, my lord, who are his legate, can be ignorant of the exemption granted unto Malcolm our late king; since the grant whereof, we have done nothing which may make us seem unworthy of that favour. Wherefore, in the name of the whole Scottish Church, we do humbly entreat the preservation of our ancient liberties, and that we be not brought under subjection to our enemies¹."

This speech was pronounced with so much grace and animation as to produce a very favourable impression on the audience. The English, in particular, commended the courage of the orator and the affection which he had shown to his country. It is reported that the Archbishop of York, who had not expected so much opposition, called the young canon to him, and, laying his hand on his head, said, in an emphatic tone of voice, "that arrow came not out of thine own quiver;" meaning, as the historian remarks, that he had been set on to speak by others of greater note. In such circumstances, the legate

¹ Boeth. lib. xiii. Spotswood, p. 38.

thought it expedient to dissolve the Council, without having come to any determination on the point at issue ¹.

In the reign of Alexander II. a mandate was issued by Honorius III., which, from the object that it professed to have in view, merits the attention of the reader. The want of a metropolitan in the Scottish Church, who might convene councils and enforce discipline, was the ostensible reason why the Archbishops of York and Canterbury were occasionally authorized by the Pope to extend their services beyond the Tweed. The wisdom of the Roman Court, therefore, determined to confer upon the northern prelates the power of holding provincial or national synods, and of enacting laws for the administration of all ecclesiastical affairs, except such as specially belonged to the supreme jurisdiction. At the first meeting, it was agreed that a provincial council should be holden every year, at which all the bishops, abbots, and priors, should be present; and that, at every such convocation, one of the first mentioned of these dignitaries should be chosen, under the title of *Conservator*, to preside instead of a metropolitan, and who, in that quality, should be empowered by canon to administer the statutes of the Church against all offenders. It was also resolved, that at the opening of the council annually, the Bishops should preach in rotation, beginning with his lordship of St. Andrews ².

¹ Boeth. lib. xiii. The words put into the mouth of the Archbishop are, "Ex tua pharetra nunquam venit ista sagitta."

² Innes's Critical Essay, p. 590.

It is doubtful whether this concession on the part of Honorius gave to the Scottish prelates a power which they did not formerly possess. But it admits of no question that the reasons assigned by him for the more frequent convocation of the higher clergy were extremely judicious, and, moreover, that the practice was attended with the most beneficial effects. In the records of the age, we can trace the proceedings which distinguished some of those national assemblies. In the year 1420, William, Bishop of Dumblane, presided; while, in 1459, the same duty was performed by Thomas of Aberdeen. There is still to be seen in the chartulary of the diocese of Moray, the form by which the Conservator summoned the yearly council. It was done in virtue of his conservatorial authority—*auctoritate conservatoria*—and he therein charged each Bishop to give his presence at the place of meeting, on a particular day, and to bring with him the abbots and priors, with proctors from the chapters, colleges, and convents of his diocese, in order to treat of the reformation of the Church, and such other matters as should come before them¹.

In reviewing the period of which the principal events have just passed before us, we find not that any material change was introduced into the creed of the Scottish clergy, if we except the tenet of transubstantiation, in which to a certain extent they all professed to acquiesce. The General Council of Lateran met in the year 1215, consisting of four

¹ Goodall's Preliminary Dissertation, prefixed to Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops; and Chartulary of Moray, quoted by Skinner, vol. i. p. 307.

hundred and twelve bishops, among whom were those of Glasgow, Moray, and Caithness. On former occasions, it was usual to discuss the subjects which were about to be embodied in canons; but at this celebrated meeting, as we are informed by Dupin, a number of resolutions on doctrinal points were submitted by the Pope to the assembled prelates, who, without any debate, allowed them to be established as rules of faith. Owing to this circumstance, the Lateran canons, which, it is well known, were not published, as such, till more than three hundred years afterwards, did not possess the authority always assigned to the decrees of a General Council. Down to the middle of the sixteenth century, when the progress of Luther's opinions gave rise to the celebrated Convention at Trent, the doctrine of the Church was not so positively determined, or so restricted to a definite form of words, as to entail the charge of heresy upon many distinguished writers who did not adopt all the notions of Paschasius.

As yet there were no universities established in Scotland; and hence we are enabled to account for a fact which must meet the observation of every reader, that many of the Bishops in those early days were foreigners, or, at least, had obtained their education in England or France. The monasteries were still the principal schools as well for general learning as for theological inquiries; especially such of those foundations as were connected with the several sees, and enjoyed the patronage of the dignified clergy, who indeed frequently lived within their walls. Various authors who appeared during this interval, have been claimed by Scotland, because they bore a desig-

nation which seemed to attribute their birth to that country. But when we reflect that, till the twelfth century, the epithet *Scotus* was more commonly applied to the natives of Ireland, the honour attached to the scholarship of Erigena, Duns, and other divines, who flourished in the middle ages, cannot be awarded with certainty to the Gael of North Britain. The learning of the sister island was much celebrated even in the days of Bede. The schools of Armagh, in the beginning of the ninth century, could boast of three thousand students; while there were three similar colleges in other cities, with many private seminaries in the remoter provinces¹.

The lives of Malcolm Canmore and of Margaret his queen, which were written by Turgot, afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews, remain to the present day a favourable monument of the author's talents, as well as of the excellent princes whose actions he undertook to commemorate². The scholastic theology, which about that period began to exercise the subtile genius of theologians, who, following the footsteps of Abelard and the Master of the Sentences, undertook to fortify the principles of divine truth by the application of a refined logic, was not altogether unknown in

¹ Bede, *passim*. Berington's Literary History of the Middle Ages, p. 182; and Nicolson's Irish Historical Library.

² For a brief account of the Scottish bishoprics given in the text, we refer once for all to Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, to Spotswood and Skinner's Histories, Sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collections, to Sir James Balfour's Annals, Winton's Chronicle, Ruddiman's Preface to the *Diplom. et Numism. Scotiæ*, and the Chartularies of the different dioceses as quoted by Keith.

Scotland. But it must not be concealed that few productions have been preserved in the libraries or convents of the north, which might be used to throw light upon the literary pursuits of the indigenous clergy, at any epoch prior to the accession of the House of Stuart.

The foundation of the episcopal Sees, in different parts of the country, constitutes an era in the annals of the respective dioceses which serves to mark, in some measure, the progress of ecclesiastical affairs. Glasgow, as we have already seen, may be faintly traced to the days of Kentigern, as an establishment of the Britons, who then formed the community of Strath Clyde, and a province of the Cumbrian kingdom. But it is not till the year 1115, that we can discover any authentic record of a regular consecration. This took place when John, the chaplain of David, Prince of Cumberland, was nominated to the see by his royal patron, and raised to the episcopate by Paschal, the second Pope of that name.

Galloway, likewise within the limits of the ancient British dominions, is understood to have had a Bishop in the fifth century. Ninian, who, about the year 450, converted many of the inhabitants to the Christian religion, is said to have built a church of white stone, in honour of St. Martin; an incident which gave birth to the name of the see, *Candida Casa*, or White House. It was afterwards distinguished by the appellation of Whithern, a word nearly of the same import, and which denoted a small town where was a convent of canons-regular, founded in the reign of King David the First.

St. Andrews, the most ancient of the Scottish or

Pictish bishoprics was indebted for its origin to Kenneth, the son of Alpine, who, as already stated, after uniting the rival tribes which, at that period, occupied the country beyond the Forth, removed from Abernethy to the city just named the seat of ecclesiastical government. This event took place about the middle of the ninth century, when the descendants of the Dalriads, or Scots-Irish, who originally settled in Argyleshire, extended their power into the lowlands, and thereby finally superseded all the older denominations. Fothad is usually esteemed the first Bishop of St. Andrews, though the date of his consecration is unknown; and indeed there are other difficulties respecting the date of his episcopacy, which render it probable that there were two Bishops of the same name in that see, the one before and the other after Kellach. This last was in authority before the year 892; and he held a provincial synod under King Constantine III., in 906. The second Fothad, the circumstances of whose consecration are likewise unknown, was deprived by Iudulfus in 952, which was the first year of his reign. A slight degree of obscurity attends the order of succession and the length of incumbency among the prelates who filled the seat of the chief bishop of the Scots, down to the days of Turgot, who was raised to the office in 1167. From that period down to the Revolution the list is clear and well-authenticated, presenting upwards of thirty names, some of which figure advantageously in the history of literature and patriotism.

Aberdeen, like St. Andrews, derived the honour of an episcopal see from an older settlement. To commemorate a victory gained over the Danes at Mortlich, in

Banffshire, the king, Malcolm III., founded a bishopric in the year 1010. Bannus, the first who occupied the new erection, is said to have administered the affairs of the diocese thirty-two years, with that prudence and integrity which became a pastor of souls, and with the utmost humility and self-abasement. David, the youngest son of Malcolm Canmore, so celebrated for his munificence to the Church, translated the see to Aberdeen; and finding it very poorly endowed, he conferred upon it a considerable extent of land, with tithes, imposts on merchandize, and fisheries. This transference was accomplished during the episcopate of Nectanus, to whom the royal charter is granted by the pious King. From the original foundation at Mortlich to the present day we can count forty-five bishops, including seven who have filled the office since episcopacy ceased to be established in Scotland.

Moray was provided with an episcopal establishment in the reign of Malcolm III., that is, towards the close of the eleventh century. In those days, the cathedral Church was at Birney, or perhaps Birnham, situated about three miles from Elgin. The name of the first Bishop was Gregory, who, in the time of Alexander and David, appears as a witness to several charters granted by the crown to religious institutions. It was not, however, till the thirteenth century, that an edifice worthy of the see was erected by one of the prelates, Andrew de Moravia, as he is named in certain ancient records. This great and worthy ecclesiastic, having obtained from Alexander II. a beautiful piece of ground, at the eastern extremity of Elgin, laid the foundation of that mag-

nificent church, which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and "ordained to be the cathedral of Moray for ever." The solemnity was performed on the 15th day of July, 1224, by the Bishop of Caithness and Dean of Ross, under the authority of Pope Honorius III. This stately temple can only be described in these days as one of the finest ruins in Scotland. The remains of the founder were deposited in the south side of the quire, under a large slab of blue marble, which is still to be seen. The succession, from the reign of Malcolm III. to the present era, comprehends about forty lives, of whom twenty-four had passed prior to the Reformation.

Dunkeld is said to have had a convent of that class of monks, afterwards denominated Culdees, so early as the year 729; the prior of which became the first Bishop of the See, in 1127, when King David converted their monastery into a cathedral church. But there is reason to believe that the foundation of the bishopric was still more ancient; for in several charters bearing the name of Alexander, the predecessor of David on the throne, there appears the signature or attestation of Cormac, Bishop of Dunkeld. It may therefore be presumed, it is only because the latter sovereign added greatly to the endowment of the diocese, and placed the whole establishment on a more regular footing, that the date of the erection has been fixed in his reign. We find in the chartulary of Glasgow, a very singular designation, as applied to one of the incumbents of this see, who flourished in the year 1324, "*Episcopi Dun-Keldensis, ac Conservatoris totius Cleri Scotici*;" a circumstance which corroborates the narrative given above, in regard to

the arrangement suggested by the Pope for discharging the duties of metropolitan. The series of prelates down to the Revolution amounts to forty-nine ; to which number we may add five, who have been elected to the office since the episcopal church ceased to enjoy civil power in that part of the kingdom.

Dunkeld is celebrated as the see which was held by the ingenious Gavin Douglas, the translator of the *Æneid*. This work, which represents in Scotland the literary era corresponding to that adorned by Chaucer in the south, is still much esteemed, not only for its poetical merits, but as a record of the changes which the language of the Scoto-Saxons has undergone, during the course of somewhat more than three centuries.

Dumblane is likewise reported to have owed its foundation to David I., who certainly added to the revenues of the Bishop, and conferred a higher temporal dignity on his appointment. A monastery, in this instance, as in many others, preceded the erection of a cathedral ; the superior of which, whose name was St. Blanc, gave to the diocese the appellation by which it continues to be known. There is apparently good ground for the conclusion maintained by some Scottish writers, that Dumblane had been a bishop's seat at a much remoter period, though the convent had not yet given way to the sumptuous fane in which divine service was afterwards performed. But it must be acknowledged that no authentic record has been found whence any light could be derived, respecting the condition of the see, at an earlier epoch than the reign of the pious prince to whom its origin is usually ascribed. From Laurentius, the first Bishop whose name can be clearly ascertained,

as having held the office in 1160, down to Bishop Douglas, who was deprived at the Revolution, we can enumerate thirty-four successions. Three have been collated to the charge of the same district since the reign of William III., one of whom was the able and learned Gillan, well known as the author of the *Life of Bishop Sage*, as well as of several controversial tracts on the constitution of the Church. Dunblane derives a species of celebrity from the name of Archbishop Leighton, who bequeathed to it a valuable collection of books and other endowments; which, perhaps, under the altered condition of the establishment, have tended more to preserve the recollection of his benevolence than to accomplish the objects that he had in view, as connected with professional literature in the clergy.

Brechin is usually referred to the same date as the two sees just described, though, for reasons similar to those already given, there is no doubt that its foundation was considerably more ancient. It received a great accession to its wealth from the hands of King David, who, about the year 1150, bestowed upon the bishop and chapter many valuable lands. A convent of monks, established there some centuries before this occurrence, continued under the auspices of the prelate several generations afterwards, having now assumed or acknowledged the appellation of Culdees. In earlier times the bishop lived in the monastery; where, as at Iona and other colleges of the same kind, he performed episcopal duties; and whence also, as from the institution of Columba, were sent officiating ministers to various parts of the district, according to the circumstances of the people, their wants, and their means of celebrating public worship. Forty-four

individuals have been nominated to the diocese of Brechin since it was enriched by the pious munificence of the son of Canmore ; one of whom, the first after the Reformation, has attached to his memory the indelible disgrace of having accepted the office, in order that he might alienate the greater part of the land and tithes to his patron, the Earl of Argyle.

Ross, without doubt, owes its elevation to the dignity of a bishopric, to the prince already so often named, as the benefactor of the church. The title in ancient times was Rosmarkiensis ; and hence the first prelate on the list, who appears as witness to a charter granted by the King to the Abbey of Dunfermline, is designated, “ Macbeth episcopus Rosmarkiensis.” His successor, Simon, however, is described as “ Episcopus de Ross,” without any reference to the circumstances which had occasioned the change. This see enjoys the reputation which belongs to the learning and singular fortunes of Lesley, the friend of Queen Mary, and historian of Scotland. He was the last of the Roman Catholic series. The day before her execution, his unhappy sovereign wrote to the King of Spain recommending to his Majesty’s care and good will her faithful servant, the Bishop of Ross. He was a person of such note, says Keith, as to be pitched upon to be sent into France by the nobility of his own persuasion, to give his advice to the Queen after the death of her husband, Francis II. ; and he returned to Edinburgh in the same ship with his royal mistress. To him is ascribed the merit of having recommended, as a measure of state policy, that she should grant to all her subjects full liberty of conscience. He stands in the Catalogue

the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth in order, from the consecration of Macbeth; and since the Reformation he has had only eight successors, as that district has been frequently placed under the superintendence of a Bishop occupying a contiguous diocese.

Caithness, it is supposed, was erected into an episcopal see in the reign of Malcolm III. ; but no documents remain by means of which the precise date might be determined. Hence nothing certain in regard to this diocese can be found till we come down to the year 1150, when the name of Andrew Bishop of Caithness is discovered as witnessing a donation to the monastery of Dunfermline. The cathedral church was built at Dornoch in 1245, by the celebrated Gilbert, who had some time before been raised to the highest order of ecclesiastics, as a token of approbation for the noble stand which he made at Northampton, in the presence of the Papal legate, against the pretensions of the Archbishop of York to a full metropolitanical power over Scotland. As the records of this district are not altogether free from a certain confusion of names and dates, which cannot now be satisfactorily removed, it can only be conjectured that the number of those who were charged with its clerical superintendence before the Reformation did not exceed twenty-four. The six which follow belonged to the Protestant establishment, which terminated at the accession of William III. We find only three since the Revolution; one of whom was the distinguished Bishop Keith, the author of the "Catalogue" so frequently cited, and of a much larger work, entitled a "History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland."

Orkney has a more uncertain origin than any other of the Scottish sees, because the acquisition of that country, including Shetland, by the descendants of Bruce, is comparatively recent. At the dawn of ecclesiastical history, we observe that persons were from time to time consecrated by the Archbishop of York for these distant islands; but it is extremely doubtful whether the prelates so designated ever visited their charges in person. The list of Orcadian Bishops, prior to the Reformation, contains rather more than twenty names, and is closed with that of Robert Reid, who was by far the most distinguished of the whole number. He not only enlarged and beautified the cathedral, and founded a school for instructing the youth in grammar and philosophy, but, extending his benevolent views, he left a sum of money for building a college in the city of Edinburgh. The seminary which now adorns the capital of the north owes its commencement to the liberality of Bishop Reid, the humble Ordinary of the wildest and most remote district in Britain. In truth, it will appear hereafter that Scotland owes to the Church not only her four universities, but nearly all the ornamental and useful buildings, which have any claim to antiquity.

Argyle, including some of the western isles, originally belonged to Dunkeld, and was about the year 1200 separated from it by the authority of the Pope, at the request of John Scott, commonly called the Englishman, who at once found the district much too extensive, and himself unqualified for the duty, owing to his ignorance of the Irish or Gaelic tongue. The seat of the new diocese was fixed in the island

of Lismore, and hence the Bishops were at one time designated "Episcopi Lismorenses;" but this title was soon afterwards superseded by that of "Ergadienses," derived from Ergadia, the Latin term for Argyle. Fifteen prelates held this see before the middle of the sixteenth century; after which eleven succeeded under the Protestant regimen. On the 24th of October, 1688, a *cong   d'  lire* was issued by James II. to the dean and chapter of Argyle in favour of Doctor Monro, principal of the college of Edinburgh; but the changes in the civil government then impending prevented the consecration from taking place.

The See of the Isles, comprehending the present diocese of Man, is carried back by the legendary writers of the Church to a very remote antiquity. We find a Bishop there, for example, so early as the year 360, bearing the ambiguous name of Amphibalus. The next, who flourished in 447, is said to have received the appointment from St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland; to whom the cathedral church within the precincts of Peel Castle is unquestionably dedicated. It is not improbable that, as Bede mentions bishops as being in some respect subordinate to the Abbot of Iona, they resided, at least occasionally, in that island. But when the Norwegians got possession of the several insular groupes which stud the western shores of Scotland, they transferred the episcopal seat to the Isle of Man, and nominated Wymundus to the bishopric. In the year 1266, the Scots, under Alexander III., recovered the western isles, which they retained till the reign of Edward III. This monarch deprived them of Man, the ecclesias-

tical establishment of which he attached to the province of York ; an arrangement that has been perpetuated to the present hour. The *Sodor-eyes*, or the more southern of the Hebrides, were at one time conjoined with Man ; and hence the title which still survives, as if it were, even in our days, a united diocese. But it is well known that, when the English conquerors appointed a Bishop in that island, the Scots continued the episcopal succession in their own see of the Isles, till the final introduction of presbyterianism at the Revolution. It is, therefore, manifest that, since the separation of Man from the smaller islands, accomplished by the arms of the third Edward, the *Sodor-eyes* have belonged to the Scottish diocese, and not to that which acknowledges the superintendence of the Archbishop of York.

About the year 1380, the English elected Robert Waldby to be Bishop of Man ; while the Scots made choice of John for the see of the Isles ; and it is deserving of notice that he who held the Scottish portion of the diocese was described as “ *Episcopus Sodorensis*,” or Bishop of the isles called Southern. This geographical distinction might have a reference to the Orkn-eyes and Shetland which occupy the northern extremity of the kingdom, or even to such of the *Hebrid-eyes* as are situated beyond a certain parallel of latitude. But, at all events, nothing is more manifest than that the modern diocese of Man does not include the section anciently called *Sodor-eyes* ¹.

¹ In ancient times, when the two dioceses were under one Bishop, he was called indiscriminately “ *Episcopus Manniæ et Insularum*,” “ *Episcopus Æbudorum*,” and “ *Episcopus Sodoren-*

Passing over the prelates who occupied the united diocese under the Hibernian Abbots and the Norwegian Kings, we find the names of twenty who filled the see between the reign of Alexander and the Revolution. Among the Protestant Bishops of the Isles a distinguished place is due to Doctor John Lesley, who was consecrated to that charge in 1628. Five years afterwards, he was translated to Raphoe by Charles I., whence he was expelled by the Covenanters during the civil wars. After the Restoration he was presented to the see of Clogher, where he died in 1671, being more than a hundred years of age. He was the father of the celebrated Charles Lesley, the author of many able works, the popularity of which has not been diminished by the lapse of a century and a half.

Edinburgh is the only bishopric which remains to be mentioned; but not being founded till the reign of the first Charles, who, during his unfortunate visit to his native kingdom, raised the metropolis to an episcopal see, it does not come within the period now under our consideration. All the others were erected

ses." It has been ignorantly supposed that the last of these titles was derived from the Greek word *Soter*, or Saviour, the cathedral church in Icolmkill being imagined to have been dedicated to the Redeemer. Let it be observed, however, that, in Celtic, the word *eg*, or *é*, or *ee*, denotes island, and that *Sudie*, *Suthie*, or *Sutho*, means *souther*, or more southern; and hence the import of *Sudereys* becomes perfectly plain. Dr Jamieson mentions that the natives called all the islands to the north of Ardmurchan in Argyleshire *Nodereys*, and those to the south of this point *Sudereys*, the latter division including Arran, Bute, Cumra, and among others, Iona and Man. *Historical Account of Cuthbert*, p. 44.

prior to the accession of the House of Stuart, in the person of Robert II. ; and we may conclude, it was only because the modern capital was situated in a part of Scotland for which homage was due to the English crown, that it was not made the seat of a Bishop at an earlier age. Lothian, which was originally comprehended within the bounds of Northumbria, was held as a fief by the successors of Kenneth ; a circumstance which accounts sufficiently for the omission now stated, as the diocese must have acknowledged for its metropolitan the Archbishop of York.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION TO THE
DEATH OF JAMES V.

Causes which weakened the authority of the Popish Church—Avarice and immorality of clergy—Progress of literature—Martyrdom of Resby—Lollards of Kyle—Persecution and death of Patrick Hamilton—His opinion—Scaton flies into England—Martyrdom of Forrest, Gourlay, and Straiton—The Pope incites the King, who enforces the laws against heretics—Attempted reform—Anecdote of the Bishop Dunkeld—Death of Russell and Kennedy—Demise of Archbishop Beaton, and accession of his nephew the Cardinal—Case of Sir John Borthwick—Policy of Henry VIII. in regard to Scotland—Death of James V.—Review of affairs at the accession of Mary—Power of the Aristocracy—Efforts to diminish it—Elevation of Churchmen to civil offices—Desire of the Barons to recover power—English monarch attempts to unite the kingdoms—The Regent Arran favours the Reformation, but soon joins the Romanists—Execution of Wishart—Remarks on his conduct and opinions—Conspiracy against the Cardinal, who is murdered in his own house—Retrospect of proceedings among the reformed—Loose notions as to the constitution of the Church—Tendency to obliterate the distinction between the clergy and laity—Usages of the Albigenses—Erastianism of all the early Reformers—Their eagerness to invest the Crown with the ecclesiastical supremacy—Various notions in regard to the Lord's Supper—Excesses of one age produced by those of another—Illustrated by the progress of change in Scotland—Concluding remarks.

At the period to which the course of events has now conducted us, various causes combined to weaken

the authority which the Papal institutions had so long exercised over the minds of men. The unseemly schism which, originating in the ambitious views of Clement V., continued many years to disturb the tranquillity of the Church, diminished, in no small degree, the reverence with which the people at large were wont to regard the supreme Pontiff. Finding it impossible to obey the contradictory mandates which, at the same moment, were issued by the rival occupants of St. Peter's chair, they gradually became accustomed to examine into their pretensions as the vicars of Christ upon earth; and, at length, made bold to ask, whether any man ought to assume so high a title, even when adorned with all the virtues and graces to which human nature can ever attain. The sacred attributes, too, usually ascribed to the Pope, began to assume an air of inconsistency, when one after another of that exalted order was seen descending from his throne, deposed by a subordinate tribunal. It was difficult to connect the belief of doctrinal infallibility with the character of a priest who aspired to discharge the duties of an office to which, upon suitable investigation, it was found he had no right.

But the avarice and immorality, of which the great body of the clergy were accused, operated with a still greater effect in alienating the lay-members of the Church. The numerous devices employed by ecclesiastics, secular as well as regular, for enriching the several foundations to which they were attached, had transferred into their hands more than half of the territorial property of Scotland, or of its annual produce. It is not surprising, therefore, that all orders

of the people should have lent a ready ear to those who exposed at once the selfishness of such spiritual guides, and the luxurious intemperance which disgraced their lives. The annals of the fourteenth century, accordingly, leave no room for doubt that the first dissentients from the Roman See, were actuated by their indignation at the Papal pretensions, on the one hand, and their disgust at the voluptuous indolence of the priesthood on the other.

It is worthy of observation, too, that literature had no sooner shown symptoms of a revival than it directed its irresistible powers against the Church. The indecent deportment of some monkish fraternities, their hypocrisy, and the domineering spirit of the prelates, opened a rich field to the satirist and poet. Dante and Boccaccio were among the first to exercise their fine talents in exposing the vices of monastic life: and the works of these authors, it is well known, are still admired, not more for the excellence of their literary merit than for the picture they exhibit of the times wherein they were written. The former, it is well known, had no difficulty in recognising in the head of his Church, the famed apocalyptic woman who sat on the waters, or occupied the seven hills, and thence carried on her traffic of iniquity with the kings of the earth¹.

¹ Perhaps the reader is not aware that the seven heads and ten horns were given at so early a period to the Bishop of Rome.

Di voi, Pastor, s'accorse uvangelista
Quando colei che siede sopra l'acque
Puttaneggiar co'i Regi a lui fu vista
Quella che con le sette teste nacque
Et da le dieci corne hebbe argomento
Fin che virtute al suo marito pracque.

(1407.) The first person who suffered capital punishment in North Britain for what was deemed an erring faith, was a priest named Resby; who, having adopted the sentiments of Wiclif, was induced by his zeal to cross the Tweed, and preach the new doctrine to the Scots. But the field not yet being prepared for the good seed, the pious labourer was requited with violence and contumely. Being summoned before Lawrence Lindores, the established inquisitor of heretical pravity, he was pronounced guilty, and committed to the flames.

(1432.) A similar fate attended the preaching of Paul Craw, a native of Bohemia, who ventured to promulgate the notions of Huss in the University of St. Andrew's. The charge brought against these martyrs is not very clearly defined; though in both cases it appears to have been founded on certain dangerous conclusions as to the Papal office, the authority of the priesthood, and the nature of the holy sacrament. Resby maintained that the Pope is not, in fact, the vicar of Christ; and that no one ought to be received in either capacity who is not distinguished for his personal holiness¹.

(1494.) These severities, joined to the natural indifference of a rude people for abstract discussions, checked for a time the spirit of innovation. It was not till the year 1494, that several persons of distinction, known as the "Lollards of Kyle," were summoned to answer, in the presence of the King

¹ "Prima (conclusio) fuit quod Papa de facto non est Christi Vicarius: Secunda, Nullus est Papa, nec Christi Vicarius, nisi sit sanctus." *Scotichron.* ii. p. 442.

and the Archbishop of Glasgow, to certain accusations respecting their faith. Among the tenets held by these individuals, we find a declaration, that images and reliques ought not to be had nor worshipped; that Christ gave power to Peter only, and not to his successors, to bind and loose in the Church; that, after consecration in the Mass, there remains bread, and that the natural body of Christ is not there; that tithes ought not to be paid to ecclesiastical men; that every faithful man or woman is a priest; that the Pope is not the successor of Peter, except in so far as our Lord said to the latter, "Get thee behind me, Satan;" that the Pope deceives the people by his bulls and indulgences; that the Mass profiteth not the souls which are in purgatory; that the excommunication of the Church is not to be feared; that, in no case, is it lawful to swear; that priests may have wives according to the constitution of the law; that faith should not be given to miracles; that we should not pray to the glorious Virgin Mary, but to God only; that we are not more bound to pray in the Church than in other places; that we are not bound to believe all that the doctors of the Church have written; that such as worship the sacrament are idolaters; that the Pope and his ministers are murderers; and that those who are called Principals in the Church are thieves and robbers¹.

It is extremely doubtful whether the Scottish Lollards held all the opinions which are here ascribed to them, because the record whence they are derived was formed by their adversaries, who might think

¹ Knox, p. 2. Spotswood, pp. 60, 61.

that, by darkening the principles of the new theological school, they would secure an advantage to their own cause. Whatever accuracy there may be in this conjecture, it is certain that they were treated with much forbearance and lenity. The Archbishop dismissed them with a simple admonition to beware of dangerous novelties, and to content themselves with the faith of the Church¹.

It was not till Henry VIII. had challenged the authority of the Romish Court that the higher order of ecclesiastics in Scotland became alarmed, and resolved to protect their establishment with a more vigorous hand. Throughout the whole course of the struggle with the Popish clergy, the measures pursued by the Reformers were regulated by the tone of feeling which prevailed in the English cabinet on the subject of religion; and hence, too, arose an increased degree of zeal and determination in the priesthood, when they discovered that the revolt begun by Luther had obtained the countenance of a sovereign who, they knew, would leave no means untried to extend his influence over both divisions of the island.

(1528.) An occasion soon presented itself that called into action the less tolerant spirit to which the prelates now thought proper to lay open their minds. Patrick Hamilton, a young man of noble lineage, whose attention had been accidentally drawn to the doctrines of the German divines, repaired to the Continent that he might study them more perfectly. Upon his return to his native country, in the year

¹ Spotswood, p. 61. Knox represents them as answering with an insolent petulance, and in a jingle of words resembling rhyme.

1528, he declaimed against the corruptions of the Church with so much energy as to produce among his hearers, who were captivated with his discourses, a deep impression with regard to the necessity of a speedy change in doctrine as well as in discipline. His manner is described as having been extremely eloquent and insinuating, while his arguments, which were guided with much prudence, were rendered highly efficient, by a full knowledge of the various subjects on which he spoke. With such qualifications he could not fail to attain the most gratifying success. It is accordingly remarked by an historian, whose candour and moderation give weight to all his conclusions, that he "had a great following, both for his learning and his courteous behaviour to all sorts of people¹."

As Hamilton enjoyed a certain rank in the ecclesiastical body, being titular Abbot of Ferns, his brethren were disposed to treat him with some appearance of lenity. He was induced to take up his residence at St. Andrew's, where his conversation was earnestly solicited by a Dominican friar, who professed himself desirous to become acquainted with the new views in religion. The guileless heart of the Reformer exposed him to the snare which was thus spread for him by the designing monk. Having learned the opinions that distinguished the school to which the young preacher belonged, Campbell, the holy brother, denounced him to the heads of the Church as a heretic, and soon had the satisfaction to see him brought to trial before the Archbishop of

¹ Spotswood, p. 65.

Glasgow and the Primate. He was accused of teaching, "that the corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism; that no man by the power of his free-will can do any good; that no man is without sin so long as he liveth; that every true Christian may know himself to be in a state of grace; that a man is not justified by works, but by faith only; that good works make not a good man, but that a good man doeth good works, and an ill man ill works, although these ill works, if truly repented, do not make an ill man; that faith, hope, and charity, are so linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all; that God is the cause of sin in this sense, that he withdraweth his grace from man, and grace being withdrawn, he cannot but sin; that it is devilish doctrine to teach, that, by an actual penance, remission of sin is purchased; that auricular confession is not necessary to salvation; that there is no purgatory; that the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion; that the Pope is Anti-christ, and that every priest hath as much power as he ¹."

(1529.) Being called to his defence, he adhered to the first seven as unquestionable truths, founded in Scripture; admitting, at the same time, that the others were disputable, though he had not yet heard any argument to shake his confidence in their orthodoxy. He was immediately condemned to the flames; and lest the King, who had gone on a pilgrimage to the shrine of a national saint, should

¹ Spotswood, p. 63. Knox, p. 5. Buchanan, lib. xiv.

interpose his authority to save him, the cruel sentence was executed with the utmost haste. The mild demeanour of the sufferer, and the striking fate of Campbell, who is supposed to have abused his confidence, made a deep impression on the feelings of the people. This Dominican, like another Judas, smitten with the conviction that he had betrayed the innocent blood, is said to have died soon afterwards in a disordered state of mind; affording, it was thought, a melancholy proof that the dictates of conscience had not been honestly consulted¹.

Nor was the sensation produced by these events confined to the lower orders and the less informed part of the laity. The regular clergy themselves, to whom the office of preaching had been very generally committed, began to discuss in their sermons the various points of doctrine agitated by the reformers. Among others, a friar, whose name was Seaton, and who acted as confessor to the King, boldly denounced in the pulpit at St. Andrew's, all reliance upon the ceremonies usually enjoined by the Church, and taught that forgiveness of sin is no otherwise to be obtained, but by unfeigned repentance, and true faith, apprehending the mercy of God in Christ. For these tenets he was sisted before the Archbishop, who, after listening to an explanation of some rather offensive expressions, admonished him

¹ *Leflæus de Origine, Moribus, et Rebus gestis Scotorum*, cap. ix. p. 407. Leslie mentions, that the King sanctioned the execution of Hamilton, though related to himself in blood. "Adhortante magno Catholicæ religionis protectore, Rege ipso, quem et sanguinis propinquitate attigerat."

to abstain from such unwonted topics in future, which, when loosely addressed to the vulgar ear, were more calculated to mislead than to edify. Warned by the tone of sentiment which seemed to prevail among the dignified clergy, and dreading the retribution that had attended the labours of Hamilton, the royal confessor fled into England, where he soon afterwards became chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk¹.

(1533.) The next victim that appears in the Scottish martyrology, is Henry Forrest, a Benedictine friar, who was accused of having spoken in a favourable manner of the character and opinions of the several individuals who had already suffered for their belief. When it was resolved to condemn him to the stake, the historian relates, that "one John Lindsay, a plain and simple man, who attended the Bishop, gave his advice to burn him in some hollow cellar; for the smoke, said he, of Mr. Patrick Hamilton hath infected all those on whom it blew." It required the experience and the increasing knowledge of nearly two centuries, to enable mankind to profit by the remark of John Lindsay; the import of which was nothing less than an eloquent and powerful dissuasive against all persecution on the ground of religious faith².

(1534.) Relying on the authority with which they were invested, the rulers of the Church continued to direct the edge of their swords against the abettors of heresy. The King, either too indifferent

¹ Spotswood, p. 64. Knox, p. 18.

² Knox, p. 19. Keith, p. 8. Spotswood, p. 65.

or too passive, permitted the prelates to exercise their zeal upon the weak and the obstinate; though it is certain, that, in many cases, he used all the influence which belonged to his rank, and all the generous frankness which distinguished his character, to induce the accused to withdraw or to modify their opinions. For example, when, in 1534, a number of both sexes were summoned to appear at Holyrood-house, before Hay, the Bishop of Ross, His Majesty, who listened to the judicial process as conducted by the ecclesiastical lawyers on behalf of the Church, interposed with much good humour to prevent the persons arraigned from committing themselves by hasty answers. Among the individuals at the bar was Katharine Hamilton, sister of the Abbot of Ferns, whose trial has been already described; and upon being questioned as to the point of "justification by works," she simply replied, that she believed no one could be saved on such grounds. "Master John Spence, the lawyer, held a long discourse with her about that purpose, telling her that there were divers sorts of works, *works of congruity*, and *works of condignity*; in the application whereof he consumed a long time. The woman growing thereupon into a chafe, cried out, *Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this?* The King, who was still present, laughed heartily at the answer; "yet, taking the gentlewoman aside, he moved her to recant her opinions, and by her ensample divers others at the same time abjured their profession¹."

Bu among those at the bar, there were two,

¹ Spotswood, pp. 65, 66.

Gourlay and Straiton, who would make no concession, and enter into no compromise in regard to the principles on which they differed from their judges. The former denied the existence of purgatory, and the jurisdiction of the Pope, while the latter was accused of maintaining, that churchmen had no right to tithes. They were both condemned to atone for their offences by being delivered over to the secular power; in other words, to suffer the extreme severity of the law as contumacious heretics¹.

The fierce spirit now breathed by the ecclesiastical government excited the fears of many, who, upon the whole, were friendly to the Church. Several learned men sought an asylum in the dominions of Henry VIII.; who, from motives which his character renders perfectly intelligible, was ready to extend his protection to all the disaffected subjects of his nephew. Archbishop Spotswood gives a list of such refugees, some of whom rose to eminence, not only in England, but also in Saxony, Denmark, and other parts of the continent, where the seeds of the Reformation had already taken root.

(1535.) The Pope, meanwhile, apprehensive that the revolt of the Anglican clergy would lead to the triumph of similar principles in the North, had recourse to his usual expedient for securing the attachment of James to the more ancient faith. He sent to him various gifts, duly consecrated by his personal blessing; and consented, at the same time, that a considerable addition to the royal revenue should be drawn from the funds of the Church. The zeal of

¹ Knox, book i. p. 21. Spotswood, book ii. p. 65.

the Scottish monarch, which was thereby kindled into a brighter flame, showed itself in the renewal of certain statutes against the followers of the Monk of Wirtemberg, and for giving greater vigour to the arm of ecclesiastical discipline. In a parliament, held in 1535, an act was passed, ratifying and confirming one made ten years before, "against them that hold, dispute, or rehearse, the damnable opinions of the great heretic Luther¹."

(1536.) Nor was the activity of the prince, in this momentous crisis of affairs, confined to coercive measures. Sensible that the Church required reformation, he authorized the assembling of a national council at Edinburgh, in the year 1536; the professed object of which was to direct the attention of the clergy to the improvement of morals among their own body. It was acknowledged, that "the dishonesty and misrule of kirkmen, both in wit, knowledge, and manners, is the matter and cause that the kirk and kirkmen are lightlied and contemned; for remeid whereof, the King exhorts and prays all archbishops, bishops, ordinaries, and other prelates, and every kirkman in his own degree, to reform themselves, their obedientiars, and kirkmen, under them, in habit and manners, to God and man; and if any will not obey nor obtemper to their superiors, the King's grace shall find remeid therefor at the Pope's holiness, and suchlike against the said prelates, if they be negligent²."

¹ Keith's History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, book i. p. 12.

² Keith, book i. p. 14.

(1539.) This year, a meeting of bishops was held in the capital, when several individuals were sisted before them, charged with the crime of having given a favourable reception to the dogmas of the German theology. On this occasion, nearly all the culprits were of the clerical order; a circumstance which could not fail to create alarm and resentment in the breasts of their superiors. Four priests and a layman of good family were consumed in the same fire, under the walls of the castle. It is related of one of the former, Thomas Forrest, canon of Colinsinch, and vicar of Dollar, that a short time before his impeachment, he had been admonished by his ordinary, the Bishop of Dunkeld, in regard to a practice which he followed of preaching to the people on the Epistle or Gospel for the day. The good-natured prelate exhorted him to forbear, as his diligence in that particular would infallibly expose him to the charge of heresy; adding, however, that “if he could find a *good Gospel* or a *good Epistle*, which made for the liberty of holy Church, he might expound it to his parishioners, and let the rest alone.” Forrest replied, that “he had read both the Old Testament and the New; and that he had never found an ill Epistle or Gospel in either of them.” The Bishop remarked in return, “I thank God I have lived well these many years, and never knew either the New or the Old. I content myself with my portesse and pontifical, and if you, dear Thomas, leave not these fantasies, you will repent when you cannot mend it.” The latter answered, that he “believed it to be his duty to do what he

did, and had laid his account with any danger which might follow¹."

The next who suffered were, Russell, a Grey friar, and Kennedy, an amiable and accomplished youth, not exceeding eighteen years of age. The trial took place at Glasgow, under the auspices of the Archbishop, Gavin Dunbar; who, having manifested considerable reluctance to engage in a duty at once so unpopular and unchristian, was assisted by others who were more inclined to severity. The courage of Kennedy would have sunk under the terror of approaching death, had not his fellow-prisoner supplied him with motives to endurance, derived from the Gospel of Him, who said, "Fear not them which kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do." The Archbishop, moved to compassion and remorse by the behaviour of the two martyrs, frankly observed, that churchmen were pursuing a mistaken policy; and that the executions which they were hurrying on, instead of subduing their enemies, would only add to their strength. He therefore recommended, that more lenient measures should be adopted, and, at all events, that the lives of men should be spared. His remonstrances were in vain; sentence of death was passed, and the friar with his youthful companion were burnt at the stake².

The same year witnessed the demise of Beaton,

¹ Spotswood, book ii. p. 66.

² Spotswood, book ii. p. 67. Keith, book i. p. 9. Collier's Ecc. Hist. part ii. book iii.

the Archbishop of St. Andrew's; an event in no other respect of any consequence, except that it opened up to his ambitious nephew, the Cardinal, a path which led him for a season to supreme power in Church and State, and ultimately, to a most miserable and untimely death. No sooner had this able prelate assumed the reins of authority, than he summoned certain noblemen, and the principal clergy of the kingdom, to assist him with their advice in his attempt to ward off the numerous evils with which the Church was threatened. After alluding to the connivance extended to heresy among various ranks of the people, and even in the royal palace itself, he concluded his address by denouncing a certain Sir John Borthwick, who, it was suspected, not only held opinions quite inconsistent with the true faith, but also dispersed books throughout the country, with the view of making proselytes. He was said to have taught, that the doctrines commonly called the "heresies of England," and their new liturgy, were commendable, and worthy to be embraced by all Christians; that churchmen ought not to enjoy any temporalities; that the King ought to employ the rents of the Church for other pious uses; that the various orders of monks and friars should be abolished; and, finally, that the Kirk of Scotland ought to be governed after the manner of the English¹.

Sir John, who did not appear in person, was condemned as a heretic; his goods were confiscated;

¹ Crawford's *Lives of Officers of State and of the Crown*, p. 79; Spotswood, book ii. pp. 69, 70; Leslie de Reb. Gest. Sect. p. 430; Keith, b. i. ch. i.

he was burned in effigy ; and the penalty of excommunication and forfeiture was threatened against all who should admit him into their houses. But, as has been already remarked, Henry VIII. received with the utmost cordiality every man of station or learning who was compelled to leave Scotland on account of his religion. Borthwick was employed by him on a mission to the Protestant princes of Germany, with the view of inducing them to enter into a confederacy with England for the defence of their common interests. At a later period, he was sent by Edward VI. on an embassy to the King of Denmark, to make arrangements for a marriage with the Lady Elizabeth, afterwards the celebrated Queen of that name ¹.

As Henry had some grounds for apprehending a war on the part of those continental powers which still adhered to the See of Rome, he was desirous to establish a lasting amity with his nephew, the King of Scots ; who, he was not ignorant, might easily be induced by the monarchs of France and Spain, in the event of actual hostilities, to make a diversion in their favour. To accomplish this object, he proposed to meet James at York, where they might hold a conference in regard to all such points as were likely to affect the mutual interests of the two British nations. The Prince seemed willing to accede to the wishes of his uncle, which appeared equally kind and reasonable ; but the clergy, dreading the consequences of the intended meeting, as they might

¹ Spotswood, p. 70. Collier's Eccles. History of Britain, vol. ii. book iii.

bear on the doctrines and discipline of the Church, exerted themselves to prevent it. They excited the fears of their sovereign relative to the designs of Henry on his personal freedom ; reminding him of the ungenerous treatment received by more than one of his ancestors, whom accident or the fortune of war had placed in the power of the English. On the other hand, they tempted his cupidity, or perhaps his necessities, with the promise of an annual sum of fifty thousand crowns, to be drawn from the funds of their own order ; suggesting, meanwhile, that a still larger addition to his revenue might be raised, by imposing fines on all persons suspected of heresy, and even on such as should be found wavering in their attachment to the Roman Catholic faith¹.

It is well known, that the considerations now stated weighed with the Scottish King, though at the hazard of a war, in which he could not expect to derive any aid, either from his nobles or from the people at large. Armies took the field on both sides ; but as the quarrel respected the personal feelings of the sovereigns, rather than the interests of their subjects, the leaders showed no eagerness to bring on a battle. The disaffection of the northern troops, who, rather than fight under a general of inferior quality, surrendered to their enemies, broke the heart of their gallant prince, a few days after his queen had given birth to a daughter, the unfortunate Mary, now his sole surviving child².

¹ Spotswood, book ii. Keith, book i. ch. i.

² Buchan, lib. xiv. Leslie de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. ix. p. 438. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 6. Keith, book i. ch. 2.

The prospect of a long minority roused the ambition as well as the jealousy of the two great parties, which, at that period, engrossed all power north of the Tweed,—the nobility and the prelates. To secure the ascendancy which the latter had acquired during the previous reign, Cardinal Beaton is accused of having forged a will in the name of the King, by which he himself was appointed governor of the realm; having for his assessors, the three Earls of Argyll, Huntly, and Murray. This testament was proclaimed at Edinburgh, soon after the royal demise; but suspicions having arisen as to the manner in which it was procured, the dignity of Regent was conferred on the Earl of Arran, the nearest of blood to the young princess¹.

As the struggles which accompanied the Scottish reformation began at the accession of Mary, it may amuse as well as instruct the reader, to take a brief retrospect of the state of affairs, civil and ecclesiastical, at that memorable epoch. Such a review will appear the more necessary, when it is recollected, that the motives which led to the change of religion were extremely various, according to the principles

¹ Sir David Lindsay, in his "Tragedie of the Cardinall," makes Beaton, in allusion to the death of the King, confess as follows:—

" Bot, after that baith strenth and speeche was leisit,
 A paper blank his grace I gart subscribe,
 Into the whilk I wroto all that I pleisit
 After his death, which long were to descryve,
 Thorough that wryting I purposit belyve (soon)
 With support of sum lordis benevolence,
 In this region to have preeminence.

of the several orders of men whom they affected ; and that, while some acted from a sincere desire to restore the purity of ancient faith and discipline, others were deeply influenced by a regard to personal interests, by the rivalry of faction, and perhaps by the love of political innovation.

Owing to a combination of circumstances, some of which were peculiar to North Britain, the feudal system retained its authority longer in that country than in any other kingdom of modern Europe. The nobility, whose number was originally small, while their possessions were very extensive, enjoyed a degree of power which was almost incompatible with the exercise of monarchical government. Rude, ignorant, and proud, they were wont in all cases of mutual animosity, to set law at defiance, and appeal to the sword ; while such was the weakness of the sovereign, that he could not but cherish a secret satisfaction in seeing his turbulent vassals destroy in one another those elements of a military force, which, if united, he would in vain have attempted to resist. The means employed by Louis XI. of France, and Henry VII. of England, to emancipate their crowns from the thralldom imposed upon them by the great feudatories, are well known to every reader ; and, generally speaking, before the commencement of the sixteenth century, the regal authority had established its main prerogatives on a firm basis, in all the European kingdoms. The House of Stuart were not insensible to the disadvantages under which they laboured, owing to the incessant encroachments of the greater barons ; who, surrounded by their warlike retainers, and presiding in their own courts of

justice, displayed all the pomp, and more than the usual despotism of independent princes. It became, accordingly, an essential principle of government, with all the successors of Robert III., to diminish the influence of the nobles, not only by a series of attacks on their wealth and privileges, but also by directly augmenting the resources, and extending the power of the royal estate.

Influenced by similar motives, James V. attempted to establish the balance of power in his dominions by treating the nobility with studied neglect, while he bestowed his countenance, and all the more dignified offices, on ecclesiastics. This questionable policy has been defended by historians on the ground that, as far as public business was concerned, his Majesty had no choice. The warlike barons were not only ignorant of letters, and unpractised in deliberation, but, as might be expected, showed the utmost contempt for all such accomplishments, as unworthy of their rank, and of the more manly exercises to which they were devoted.

The distinction conferred upon churchmen by the favour of the prince increased the jealousy and dislike which had for some time been directed against that powerful class of individuals. The proud descendants of those gallant leaders, who, by their valour, had placed the sceptre of Scotland in the hands of the Stuarts, could ill brook the elevation of timid ecclesiastics, whose strength appeared to them to consist in intrigue, and whose merit in their eyes was confined to the ambiguous task of perplexing the counsels of more honest men.

The laity, who, by their superstition and profuse-

ness, had contributed to raise the ministers of the altar from their primitive poverty to wealth and eminence, began, even before the reign of James V., to resent their encroachments as statesmen and ministers of the crown. It cannot be surprising that a martial aristocracy should have viewed with envy the power and opulence of the Church, and have treated with some degree of contempt the inactive characters of those dignitaries who enjoyed the larger share of them. They hoped to shake off the yoke of sacerdotal dominion, long felt to be oppressive, and which they were now taught to consider as unchristian. They expected to recover possession of the revenues which their ancestors had appropriated to pious uses; misled and deceived, they were willing to be convinced, by the fraud of an interested priesthood: and they flattered themselves, at the same time, that, by resuming such property, they should impose a check on the ostentation of the prelates, who would thenceforth be obliged to confine their views within bounds more suited to their sacred calling.

The multitude, on the other hand, freely received those impressions of pious indignation which the preachers of the new opinions laboured to excite, by constantly declaiming against the Popish ecclesiastics, as men who had corrupted the doctrines of Christianity, perverted the nature of the true faith, and substituted in their place the unprofitable exercises of bodily penance, or the observances of an obscure ritual. The lower classes of the people have, at all times, a natural aversion to every appearance of pomp and riches in clergymen; expecting rather to

find in the minister of Christ tokens of a meek and self-denying spirit; an example of piety and virtuous living; a counsellor in difficulties, and a comforter in distress. They are accordingly, not less shocked than disappointed when they have presented to them a picture of pride, avarice, and dissipation, though the lineaments may have been avowedly drawn by the hand of an enemy. Without exercising either candour or inquiry, they make haste to denounce those against whom such bitter sarcasms are uttered by an eloquent tongue, though the harangue may have been inflamed much more by personal animosity than by zeal for pure religion. At all events, at the period when the Scottish throne awaited the accession of the infant Mary, the ancient hierarchy had ceased to rest on the solid foundation of respect and love; and, accordingly, when the arm of the state was no longer able to bear it up, the counsels of the aristocracy were employed to undermine it, and the hands of the people were stretched forth to pull it down.

(1543.) Henry resumed his negotiations with the Scottish government, in order at once to accomplish a permanent union between the two crowns, and to strengthen the foundations of the Protestant Church. The Regent was favourably disposed towards the views of the English monarch; and, if the latter had exercised a little gentleness on the delicate point of national independence, he might have had the satisfaction to see the whole island under one sceptre, and animated with the same spirit against the corruptions of Popery. But the impetuous temper of that sovereign, and the ungracious manner in which

he proposed his terms, alienated from him the majority of the Scottish nobility; who, whatever might be their sentiments respecting Beaton, and the objects which he had openly avowed, would not yield their assent to any measure that seemed to entail, by a direct consequence, the humiliation of their country. Even the timid Regent, whose fears and interests alike inclined him to the English connection, in preference to that with France, found himself compelled to submit to the prevailing influence of the opposite party; and although he ratified the treaty, by which the young Queen was to be sent to the court of Henry for her education, so soon as she should attain the age of ten years, he, at the same time, perceived the expediency of uniting with the Cardinal, and supporting the Church. He publicly abjured the doctrines of the Reformers in the chapel of the Franciscan monks at Stirling, and thereby declared his conversion to the religious as well as to the political opinions of his new friends¹.

In the Parliament which assembled in March 1543, a motion was made by Lord Maxwell, that permission should be given to all classes to read the Scriptures in their native language. The proposal being favourably received by the lay-estates, a proclamation was issued by the governor, authorizing the perusal of the "New Testament, with certain Additions," and commanding that corrected copies should be issued for that purpose. The Archbishop of Glasgow, who was also Lord Chancellor, protested,

¹ Sadler's Letters, March 1543. Keith, book i. chap. 2, 3
Mackenzie's Lives, vol. iii. Mary. Buchanan, lib. xv.

in his own name, as well as in that of all the prelates of the realm, against the indulgence now mentioned, until a provincial council of all the clergy might be held, "to advise and conclude thereupon¹."

It is not unworthy of notice, that, while Arran sanctioned the measure which created so much alarm in the minds of the Bishops, he gave directions for admonishing the people "to read the Scriptures sincerely and quietly to themselves, for their own knowledge, without taking upon them any rash or sinister interpretation" of the sacred text; and banished, at the same time, "all other English books except the mere Scriptures, being of the best and truest translation." Henry, through his Ambassador, had urged him to root out the monks and friars, and abolish the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome. To this suggestion, he replied, that he was not less desirous than the English King to accomplish a thorough reformation, but that he saw many difficulties in the way, arising more particularly from the circumstance, that most of the nobles were still attached to the Church, and would therefore be inclined to oppose him. He admitted, however, that no motive would have greater weight with these last, in bringing about a concurrence in his scheme, than the prospect of being enriched on the spoils of the religious houses. "Unless the sin of covetousness should render them pliable," he confessed that he knew no other means of gaining them over to his purpose².

¹ Keith, book i. chap. iv. p. 37.

² Keith, p. 38. Sadler's Letter to Henry VIII. April 9, 1543.

No sooner did the Governor reconcile himself to the ecclesiastical party, in the manner already described, than the fair prospects which had delighted the eyes of the Reformed, were succeeded by gloom and dejection. The preachers whom he had entertained in his own family were obliged to leave the kingdom, and a bill was introduced into Parliament for the suppression of heresy, as well as for the condign punishment of all such as should give countenance to the "damnable opinions" which disturbed the tranquillity of the holy Church. A legate commissioned by the Pope arrived in Scotland towards the end of the year, who, although his principal instructions were to prevent the union of Mary with the English prince, did not lose the opportunity of forwarding the views of the Cardinal against the abettors of the new tenets ¹.

(1545.) Beaton, finding his hands thus strengthened by the accession of the Regent's party and the countenance of the Queen-mother, resolved to extirpate by force the seeds of heresy which were fast taking root in all quarters of the kingdom. With this view he made a visitation of his diocese, accompanied by several noblemen and prelates, in the course of which a number of persons were sentenced to endure different degrees of punishment. At Perth, five men and a woman suffered death for very venial offences. The female, when in childbed, had refused to invoke the Virgin Mary; one of the others had eaten flesh on a day of abstinence; and a third

¹ Leslie, lib. x. p. 448. Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 158.

was found guilty, because he had maintained, in opposition to a preaching-friar, that it was possible to obtain salvation without praying to the saints. Great intercession was made for the pardon of these unfortunate individuals, both on the general grounds of humanity, and more especially on the plea that the errors laid to their charge did not affect any point of doctrine. But the Primate, who had determined to set an example of firmness to the other Bishops, remained inexorable ; and, accordingly, the lives of six harmless persons were sacrificed to the demon of persecution, in circumstances the most revolting to every generous feeling of human nature ¹.

(1546.) The following year was rendered remarkable by the execution of George Wishart, one of the most eminent and successful of the Protestant teachers. Having received the rudiments of education in his native country, he finished his studies in the University of Cambridge ; whence he returned to Scotland with more enlightened views and confirmed persuasions as to the doctrines which now agitated the Church. After preaching in several districts, he was at length apprehended in the neighbourhood of Haddington, and thrown into prison ; not without a certain imputation on the honour of the Earl of Bothwell, the high sheriff, who it is asserted, had promised to secure him from personal danger. The Cardinal, extremely desirous to silence a tongue which had occasioned no small uneasiness to the adherents of the established faith, hurried him to St.

¹ Buchanan, lib. xv. Spotswood, p. 75. Knox, book i. p. 40. Edition, 1732. Mackenzie's Lives, vol. iii. Beaton.

Andrew's, where he made instant preparations for bringing him to trial.

To give a proper air of solemnity to a transaction so important, he summoned the principal dignitaries of the ecclesiastical estate to assist him with their presence and counsel. Among these was the Archbishop of Glasgow, who suggested to the Primate the expediency of applying to the Regent for the appointment of lay-commissioners, who might proceed against the accused according to the forms of law, without involving the clergy in the general odium which could not fail to attend any severity inflicted on an individual so popular as Wishart. But Arran, who had already made himself responsible for numerous cruelties exercised on the humbler class of Reformers, began to perceive that the sentiments of his friends, did not keep pace with the sanguinary spirit of the Cardinal; and felt, besides, that it was no longer safe to give increased vigour to a party which might ultimately overwhelm the government committed to his trust. Instead, therefore, of issuing the warrant, deemed necessary to sanction the trial of the heretical preacher, he instructed Beaton not to take any step in the judicial inquiry until he himself should arrive at St. Andrew's: expressing his determination to have every thing done with the utmost legal precision, and threatening, if the Cardinal should act otherwise, that "the man's blood should be required at his hands." This reply, so little in accordance with the aid expected from the Governor, completely overcame the temper of the haughty prelate. In return, he assured him that he had not written, as though he depended in any degree upon his autho-

rity, but only from a desire that the condemnation of the schismatic might proceed with some show of public consent. As, however, this could not be obtained, he would now, of his own accord, follow such a line of conduct as might appear most suitable¹.

The charges brought against Wishart were eighteen in number, and respected the particular tenets at that time controverted between the disciples of Luther and the established clergy. Generally speaking, they had a reference to the nature of the sacraments; auricular confession; excommunication; monastic orders; the lawfulness of eating flesh on certain days; the power of the Pope; the authority of councils; the marriage of priests; the necessity of ordination to spiritual functions in the church; and prayer to saints. The defence made by the prisoner showed clearly that the accusation against him had, in many instances, been founded on expressions inaccurately reported, or very imperfectly understood. But, on the whole, he did not conceal that the opinions which he entertained on several essential heads of doctrine, were inconsistent with the dogmas held by the Romish communion. He was therefore condemned to the stake, and the following day led forth to execution².

Acting on the belief that every Christian is raised to the priesthood—a conclusion which he supported

¹ Spotswood, book ii. p. 79, 80. Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 205. Buchanan, lib. xv. Knox, book ii. p. 80.

² The charges against Wishart are inserted in Knox's *Historiæ*, p. 54, &c. Mackenzie's *Life of Wishart*. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reform.* vol. i. p. 379.

before his judges by quoting the words of the Apostle, "he hath made us kings and priests unto God"—he thought himself justified, though not in holy orders, in undertaking to administer the Lord's Supper, on the morning of the day on which he was put to death. Being invited to breakfast with the captain of the castle, under whose charge he was placed, he pronounced a discourse on the nature and object of that holy ordinance; after which he proceeded to bless bread and wine, which had been laid on the table, and to deliver them to several individuals who had assembled in the apartment.

This conduct on the part of the martyr has been viewed by historians in different lights, according to the principles which they profess in regard to the origin and authority of the sacerdotal character. A late writer has attempted to vindicate this usurpation of the priestly office, on the ground that, though a peculiar order of men ought to be separated for the ministry of the word and sacraments, there are circumstances in which this general rule may with propriety be overlooked. In such circumstances, he maintains, Wishart was unquestionably placed. Contemplating with an anxiety inseparable from human nature, the lingering anguish by which he was to escape from the world, he was desirous, by thus remembering his Redeemer, to increase his strength, and give fervency to his devotion¹.

¹ Cook's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 292, 293. Collier's *Ecclesiastical History of Britain*, vol. ii. p. 206. Mackenzie's *Life of Wishart*. After all, it is doubtful whether Wishart was not in holy orders. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 20.

But this defence, so far as it respects the reformer himself, is obviously placed on a wrong foundation. He would have scorned to urge necessity as an excuse for an irregular proceeding ; knowing well that gratitude for the blessings of redemption could be fully exercised without the medium of any external rite ; and, besides, that no regard to personal consolation could justify the infraction of a Christian institute, bearing the stamp of apostolical authority and immemorial usage. Wishart, as is plain from the answers he gave on his trial, denied the particular distinction between a priest and a layman, on which the validity of Divine ordinances is usually established ; and consequently, when he blessed the bread and wine on the morning of his execution, he did no more than he conceived every believer in Christ is entitled to perform, wherever two or three are met together to address the ear of Heaven, in the solemnities of worship.

An incident is said to have occurred at the death of this pious individual, which on the one hand has been regarded as a proof that he was endowed with the prophetic spirit ; while, on the other, it is made the ground of a serious charge both against his religion and his humanity. It is reported that, when in the midst of the flames, he looked up to a window where the Cardinal was sitting, and expressed himself as follows : “ This fire hath scorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my spirit ; but he, who from yonder place beholdeth us with so much pride, shall within a few days lie in the same as ignominiously as he is now seen proudly reposing.”

As Beaton was murdered a short time afterwards,

it has been inferred that the preacher was privy to the conspiracy by which this event was brought to pass; and consequently that, on the occasion now mentioned, he only affected to foretell the issue of a crime which he certainly knew would be attempted at no distant period. There is not, however, any good reason for believing that Wishart ever made use of the language which is here attributed to him. In support of this opinion, it will be enough to state that Knox, who was intimately acquainted with him, takes no notice of such a menace; and as this historian afterwards lived some months with the assassins of the Primate, in the castle of St. Andrews, he must necessarily have heard of the prediction, had it been pronounced by his friend in circumstances so peculiar¹!

Whatever confidence may be due to the annalists of the period, as to the concert which may have previously existed, it admits not of any doubt that the fate of the Cardinal was determined soon after the execution of Wishart. A variety of motives, some of them not very closely connected with religion, contributed to brace the nerves of the principal conspirators. On the 29th of May, 1546, the brother and the eldest son of the Earl of Rothes, followed by about sixteen of their partisans, burst into the cham-

¹ Spotswood, p. 82. Keith, p. 42. Buchanan, lib. xv. Dempster's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. 598. The account of Wishart's prophecy, which appears in the later editions of Knox, seems to have been translated from Buchanan, who, we believe, is the earliest authority for that popular anecdote. See also the observations of Mr. Skinner and Dr. Cook, both of whom adopt the conclusion of Bishop Keith.

ber of the devoted prelate ; when, after upbraiding him with a persecuting spirit and a licentious life, they plunged their weapons into his body ¹.

The temper which, at that epoch, prevailed throughout the country, may be estimated from the sentiments entertained respecting the assassination of Beaton. The lovers of order, as well as the more enlightened friends of the Reformation, deplored the event, as being at once subversive of the laws, and as likely to impose a stain on the purity of the new doctrines ; a feeling which was shared by many who did not disguise their opinion that the Cardinal, by his sanguinary proceedings, had merited the severe fate which had just overtaken him. But the popular writers, and a large portion of the community, viewed the occurrence in a very different light. Not satisfied with applauding the murder, as an act of political expediency and national justice, they expressed their belief that the perpetrators of it were inspired by the Almighty, or stirred up by an immediate impulse to perform so godly a deed ².

¹ Leslie, lib. x. Spotswood, book ii. p. 83. Mackenzie's Life of Beaton, in vol. iii. p. 24. Crawford's Officers of State, p. 81. Keith, p. 43. Sir David Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. p. 229. Chalmers, the editor of Lindsay, mentions that the Cardinal had taken *bonds of manrent* of various individuals, to serve him personally, as the bond implies ; and that Norman Leslie, the son and heir of the Earl of Rothes, had given such an obligation. Yet was he the principal assassin ; and consequently his crime was aggravated into petty treason.

² Keith, p. 43, with the references to Calderwood and Fox. See also Dr. Cook's first volume, page 306, who properly condemns the levity and buffoonery with which Knox relates the occurrence.

As the Reformation, on the death of Beaton, assumed in Scotland an aspect somewhat altered, embracing motives and objects which had not till then been contemplated, it may be useful to take a review of the progress actually made at the epoch now mentioned.

It has been already remarked, that the first adversaries of the Romish establishment directed their attacks chiefly against the corruptions of the papacy and of the higher orders of the priesthood; arraiguing their luxury, excessive wealth, and inordinate power. But the Reformers had not yet begun to call in question the constitution of the Church itself, viewed as a body deriving its form and power from apostolical times, nor expressed any desire to see the several orders of its ministers, either disturbed or diminished. The controversy which respects the origin of ecclesiastical authority, and the official character of the persons by whom it should be exercised, was reserved for a period considerably later. As a proof of this, it will be recollected that Sir John Borthwick maintained not only that "the heresies, commonly called the heresies of England, were commendable, but also that the Church of Scotland ought to be governed after the manner of the English¹."

The opposition to the Papal government displayed in all the countries to which the doctrines of Luther had extended, so far from weakening the foundations of Diocesan Episcopacy, had the effect rather of restoring its principles, by recovering for the local

¹ See above page 145.

bishops the authority that had been engrossed by the Roman Pontiff. The usurpations of the Pope, confirmed by the predominance of the monastic orders, had, in fact, reduced every national Church in Europe to a state of the most servile dependence. All spiritual power, as well as the permission to use it, was supposed to be derived from his Holiness; and hence the great federal commonwealth of the Christian world had long been converted into a despotism, acknowledging but one head and one will. The maxim, therefore, adopted by the Reformers, that the Bishop of Rome had no greater power than any other prelate of the same order, could hardly fail to be accompanied with a salutary tendency, so far, at least, as it might influence their proceedings in regard to ecclesiastical polity and government.

To understand the full import of the statement now made, it will be necessary to call to mind that, before the era of the revolt which was headed by the Saxon monk, the priest who occupied the chair of St. Peter had completely concentrated in himself the official power of the proper governors of the Church, and compelled them, in all cases of importance, to act merely in the capacity of his vicars. When, for example, a see became vacant in any country, he issued a Bull to the neighbouring Bishops to consecrate a successor; in which proceeding these prelates were considered, and indeed considered themselves, as nothing more than his deputies; acting not by an authority of their own, but by one delegated from Rome. Accordingly, when the Reformers cast off the papal yoke, many of them were strangers to

the important principle, that a certain order of men, independently of the Pope, have derived spiritual power by succession from Christ and his apostles ; and hence we find Henry VIII., after he had transferred to himself the headship of the Anglican Church, questioning his ecclesiastical counsellors whether, by his royal prerogative, and as possessing the authority formerly exercised by the supreme Pontiff, he might not create Bishops, without calling in the aid of episcopal consecration. The shuffling answer of Craumer, compared to that of the Archbishop of York, is well known, and shows clearly that the primate, at that juncture, was deficient either in firmness or in sound views. In Scotland, too, it is evident that the supporters of the new doctrine entertained a similar belief ; imagining that, with the abjuration of the Pope, all ecclesiastical authority derived from the apostles was at an end ; and, consequently, that the constitution of the Church could only be continued by the power of the King or by the election of the people. In a word, the notions of many of the Reformers in Britain, as well as on the Continent, at an early period of their progress, were extremely confused, owing to their having been so long accustomed to identify the validity of all spiritual function, in the clerical order, with the pretensions of the Roman See.

It is, perhaps, to the cause now mentioned that we ought to attribute the aversion, shown by some of the first opponents of ecclesiastical supremacy, to admit any distinction between clergy and laymen. Believing that the professional power claimed by the former could only be conferred by command of the

Pope, and through the agency of his episcopal vicars, they were more inclined to deny the existence of this official authority altogether, or, at least, the necessity of it for giving efficacy to Christian ordinances, than to acknowledge any obligation to the Court of Rome. Rather than admit that the hand and voice of a priest, ordained by a papal deputy, were essential to the administration of the Lord's Supper, they yielded to a suspicion, now become congenial to the dominating prejudice, that the peculiar endowments of the sacerdotal character might all be ascribed to the avarice and fraud of churchmen.

This current of opinion, which originated so high as the tenth century, was greatly augmented in its course downwards, by the controversies connected with the doctrine of transubstantiation—a tenet which implies an amazing privilege on the part of the officiating minister. The Albigenses set the example of denying at once the power of the priest and the actual presence of the Redeemer in the sacrament; asserting that “the body of Christ is not upon the altar in the consecrated bread more than in any other bread.” To give a palpable illustration of their notions on this sacred topic, they were wont to say grace over a common loaf and then make a solemn meal of it, as the only eucharistical observance, which, according to their views, was consistent with primitive Christianity. It admits not, indeed, of any doubt that hostility to the old establishment, and ignorance of the real constitution of the Church, led the reformers into most of those speculative errors with which Roman Catholic writers have charged them, and which the most zealous Protestant cannot altogether defend. The

many absurdities which, in the ancient communion, had excited their resentment, carried them in nearly as many instances to an opposite extreme ; and because they had resolved to disown the maxim that all spiritual authority emanates from the Pope, they allowed themselves to give countenance to the conclusion, that such authority cannot be now possessed by any order of men, though descended from the apostles by regular succession. It is worthy of remark, however, that this aberration from right principle applied to the official characteristics of all the sacerdotal orders alike, and did not, in the first instance at least, bear any special reference to the Bishops, nor point in any degree to the question of ecclesiastical polity. The tendency of the prevailing opinion was to confound the priest with the layman, and even to invest them both with a co-ordinate authority in the administration of religious rites ; a result which almost necessarily precluded all discussion as to the origin, the form, and the limits of Church government.

Another peculiarity which marked the early course of the Reformation, in all the kingdoms of Europe, was the eagerness of the principal teachers to commit to the temporal sovereign the power which they had determined to wrest from the Bishop of Rome. They justified their conduct on the ground that all authority in ecclesiastical matters proceeds from the civil magistrate, and consequently, that the Church, though regarded as an institution founded by Christ, has not the right of judging even in spiritual things ; no direct control over the avowed opinions of its members ; and no claim for a legal or independent patri-

mony. The history of Wiclif supplies several instances wherein that reformer acted upon the principle now explained, at once so derogatory to the clerical order, and so flattering to ambitious monarchs. When, for example, he was accused of inculcating doctrines hostile to the purity of the faith, as then professed by nearly the whole Christian world, and was threatened by the university in which he held a public charge, that unless he desisted from such practices, he would be proceeded against according to the laws of the Church, we find him, instead of entering into any explanation, boldly denying the competency of every ecclesiastical court upon earth, and determined to appeal forthwith to the King. In strict conformity with such opinions, he maintained that "a Prelate or Bishop excommunicating any of the clergie which hath appealed to the King or to the counsell, is thereby a traitour to the King and the realme." Nay, he extended the same conclusion to the jurisdiction of the Pope himself; who, he asserted, if a bad man, had "no power by any manner of means given to him over faithful Christians, unless peradventure it be given him from the Emperor."

Great allowances must indeed be made for the circumstances in which the first reformers were placed. The question of supremacy, at all times a delicate one, had not then received those modifications which Protestantism has since introduced into it; rendering it compatible with the exercise of the most unbounded freedom and independence, in all spiritual concerns as well as in civil polity. The headship of the Church, with the whole of the extensive prerogative

then attached to it, was regarded as an office which might be transferred, but could not be curtailed ; on which account, before we condemn the followers of Wiclif for the strong desire they manifested to remove the triple crown from the head of the Pontiff, and to place it on that of their own sovereign, we should call to mind the steps which were actually taken in this respect, at a more mature and enlightened period.

But whatever may be thought of the tenets which prevailed among the English reformers in the fourteenth century, it is perfectly clear that they were by no means original. The same notions, on the several subjects of papal power, church patrimony, and the mystery of the Eucharist, had been condemned in France, more than a hundred years before ; and although Hume observes that Wiclif " had the honour of being the first person in Europe who publicly called in question those principles which had universally passed for certain and undisputed during so many ages," it is nevertheless perfectly manifest that he did not start for discussion a single topic which had not been agitated on the Continent some generations before he was born. In short, the articles exhibited against the celebrated person now named, so far from containing opinions peculiar to his time or his individual creed, might rather be regarded as an epitome of the heresies, as they were then called, which first roused the jealousy of the Church, upon the dawn of that auspicious day, which succeeded the long night of the middle ages.

In reviewing the history of opinion, it is instructive to perceive how regularly one extreme has be-

gotten another ; and also how commonly the greatest errors have sprung from an indiscreet zeal in expounding mystical tenets, or from attempts to fix down the mind to the specific dogmas of a rigid confession of faith. With regard to the Lord's Supper, for instance, many centuries elapsed without either schism or controversy. The doctrine on which it rests was tacitly regarded by all men as a profound mystery, and the rite itself was piously observed as one of those positive institutions which derive their whole value from the authority of the Divine Person who established them. But no sooner did Paschasius, in 831, publish his book on the " Body and Blood of the Lord," and maintain before the world that " there is no difference between the body of Jesus Christ in the sacrament, and the body of Jesus Christ as it was on earth and is now in heaven," than a host of controversialists took the field, in opposition to a tenet so extravagant and unnatural. The subject being once disputed, the usual consequences were found to take place. Some resolutely embraced the belief which appears to be conveyed in the words of Scripture literally understood, " This is my body ;" whilst others, following out the views suggested by Bertram, arrived at the conclusion, that the bread and wine placed on the altar are mere signs, and that, considered as such, it is not necessary to suppose they undergo any change whatever, either in substance or in accidents, under the hands of the priest. After more than a hundred years, spent in useless and irreverent dispute, the Church was induced to sanction the doctrine of transubstantiation ; and, about the same period, as has been

already remarked, the Albigenses had attained to a decision directly opposite on the nature of that holy ordinance,—they blessed their loaf, and divided it among themselves. When, therefore, in the sixteenth age, the British reformers taught that “Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar, truly and really, in his proper and corporal person,” they advanced no more than had been maintained by numbers in the ninth and tenth centuries.

On a principle strictly similar, was the claim of the Pope to spiritual power denied by the leaders of the great ecclesiastical revolution. He had demanded an entire and unconditional obedience from all the princes of Europe, in matters pertaining to the civil government of their states; and hence the determination to refuse to him that authority in clerical arrangements, on which he might have insisted with some show of reason. In particular, after the difference between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair of France, which took place about the year 1300, the several kings appear to have united in opposing themselves to the insufferable pretensions of the Court of Rome. The Pontiff, having assumed for his motto, *Ecce duo Gladii* (here are two swords), claimed the right of dictating to the French sovereign in respect to the general measures of his political administration. He pressed Philip to undertake a crusade into the East, for the purpose of delivering the Earl of Flanders and his children from captivity; but his Majesty not concurring in this proposal, the haughty dignitary reminded him that he was his master both in spirituals and temporals, and threatened to visit his kingdom with an immediate inter-

dict. The monarch set him at defiance, and even threw his envoy, a favourite churchman, into prison. The Pope remonstrated; published bull after bull; calling himself Sovereign Lord, and still maintaining his right to issue orders to every crowned head in Christendom. Philip, on his part, burnt the bulls as fast as they appeared, assembled his states, and obtained from them a protest against the papal encroachments; and at length proceeded so far in his opposition as to deny the supremacy of his Holiness even in matters ecclesiastical. Hence the comparative independence of the Gallican Church, and the origin of the numerous privileges which it enjoyed in later times.

The same spirit was manifested by the original reformers in Scotland. Not only did they refuse to acknowledge the superintendence of the Pope, but, following the example of Wiclif and Luther, laboured to transfer to the crown the spiritual jurisdiction of which they had deprived him. For instance, when Seaton, the confessor of James V., found his life endangered by the churchmen, he exhorted the King to "use the authority committed to him by God;" offering to prove, from reason and Scripture, that the ecclesiastical estate should in all cases be rendered subordinate to the civil, and also that the determination of religious controversies belong to the prince, and not to the clerical tyrants who had usurped his rights¹.

At a subsequent period, these Erastian notions were utterly rejected by the Scottish Protestants,

¹ Spotswood, lib. ii. p. 65.

and their place supplied by a firm resolution to invest the preachers of the Gospel with all the power and terrors which had belonged to the older establishment. Had the royal authority, at the important crisis when the new doctrines began to be generally received by the people, been wielded by the hands of a vigorous monarch, the external form of the Church would, in all probability, have been modelled according to his wishes, and established on a more regular and permanent foundation than it actually acquired until after the lapse of many years. But, on the untimely death of James, the sceptre, as is well known, fell to an infant, who could not exercise that prerogative in ecclesiastical affairs, which, agreeably to the spirit of the age, would have been readily conceded to a maturer mind: and as the Regent was not possessed either of talent or principle sufficient to take the lead in a discussion so delicate, the question of Church-government was left undetermined until another influence arose which entirely changed the scene as well as the grounds of deliberation. The wishes of the sovereign at this new era being contemned or overlooked, the wisdom of certain lords, aided by the counsel of Knox and other ministers, suggested a scheme of ecclesiastical polity, which, without any particular reference to the standard of antiquity, would, it was hoped, conciliate all parties; those, on the one hand, who were desirous to retain some resemblance to the ancient pattern, and, on the other, that more numerous body, who thought it impossible to recede too far from the usages of a communion, whose corruptions they had taken so much pains to expose.

It may be remarked, that wherever the Church reformed itself, the old constitution and method of discipline remained ; while in almost every case where the change was forced by the operation of external causes, a much greater scope was given to that eager love of innovation, which, at every moment of national disturbance, is so apt to seize the popular mind. But these considerations belong to a later epoch ; when, to a variety of motives which had not yet exerted all their power, there was joined the working of a secret bias derived from those Protestant congregations, which, at Geneva, in the southern parts of France, and in the Low Countries, had originated a new plan for regulating the ministerial office, as well as for communicating to their members the blessings of the Gospel.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF MARY TO THE DEATH OF HER MOTHER THE QUEEN REGENT.

Melancholy state of Scotland at the era of Mary's accession—Castle of St. Andrew's besieged—Surrenders to a French fleet—Knox carried to France among the other captives—Inquiry into his motives for joining conspirators—Religion and politics united—Activity of Reformers at St. Andrew's—Zeal of the established clergy—Period of repose—Invasion under the Duke of Somerset—Mary sent to France—Queen-dowager made Regent—Popish clergy have recourse to strong measures—Martyrdom of Wallace—Disputation about praying to the Saints—Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism—Synod of Clergy—Death of Edward VI.—Reformers from the South take refuge in Scotland—Knox returns to his native country—The effect of his preaching—He is summoned by the Clergy, but no trial takes place—He writes to the Queen Regent—He returns to Geneva—Tumult in Edinburgh—Proclamation issued and recalled—Power of Romanists declines—Knox invited home—Correspondence—First Covenant—Resolutions respecting Divine Worship—Romanists address the Queen Regent and reforming lords—Execution of Walter Mill—Petition to her Majesty—Proceedings in Parliament—Memorial by the Protestants—Intrigues—The Regent becomes averse to them—Assembles a Convocation—She issues a Proclamation commanding compliance with the Popish rites—Summons preachers to appear—Remonstrance of the lords—Duplicity of Regent—Return of Knox—Insurrection at Perth—Demolition of religious houses—Reflections—Apology—Civil War—Treaty—Armies again assemble—Devastation at St. Cupar, Stirling, St. Andrew's—Reformers depose the Queen Regent—Re-action

in favour of Government—The lords of the Congregation apply to Queen Elizabeth for aid—The Regent dies—Negociation by ambassadors on the part of England and France—The various articles concluded upon—Remarks on their object and effect.

NOTHING could be more melancholy than the condition of Scotland at the period when Mary Stuart ascended the throne of her ancestors. The nation, already greatly weakened through domestic faction, was now seriously menaced with the loss of its independence, by the ambitious views of the English monarch, on the one hand, and by the insidious policy of France, on the other. It was in the full knowledge of the objects contemplated by the former that the parent of the unfortunate Queen exclaimed on his death-bed, "Henry will gain this kingdom either by marriage or by arms!" Considering the position which he occupied in regard to the great Popish states on the continent, it is not surprising that the royal theologian just named should have exerted his utmost endeavours to secure at least the neutrality of his nephew's dominions. Besides, the rising spirit of the Reformation co-operated with him in his attempts to acquire an ascendancy in the north. A large body among the people were disposed to lend a favourable ear to the new doctrines; and there are still extant certain original warrants for remitting money beyond the Tweed, that show very plainly the nature of the arguments which he must have employed with the nobles whom he had brought over to his interests¹.

¹ Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 8.

(1546) The conspirators, too, who had imbrued their hands in the blood of Cardinal Beaton, finding themselves closely invested in the castle of St. Andrew's, by the troops of the Regent, applied to the English King for assistance. Henry did not disdain to identify his cause with that of men whose characters even their own partisans were compelled to condemn, and thereby conferred some degree of credibility on the suspicion, that he had not only stimulated their resentment, but actually pointed their daggers against the breast of the unhappy Primate. Seasonable supplies of arms and provisions enabled them to resist with success all the efforts of Arran to reduce their stronghold; while, on their part, they engaged to promote the marriage of Prince Edward with the young Queen, and to advance, by all the means in their power, the cause of the Reformers in Scotland¹.

After four months of ineffectual warfare, the garrison were admitted to terms of accommodation; it being provided:—

I. That the Government shall procure unto the besieged a sufficient absolution from the Pope for the slaughter of the Cardinal, and that they shall not be pursued by force until the said absolution be obtained.

II. That neither the besieged, nor any one belonging to them, shall be prosecuted at law for the said slaughter, and that they shall enjoy all privileges, spiritual and temporal, as freely as if it had never been committed.

¹ Keith, p. 50.

III. That the besieged shall give pledges for surrendering the castle as soon as the absolution shall be brought from Rome and delivered unto them; and that, for surety of those pledges, the besieged shall, in the meantime, retain in their custody the Governor's son¹.

(1547.) It has been suspected, that, as neither party had confidence in the sincerity of the other, and as each relied upon a strong reinforcement of soldiers from their respective friends in England and France, this treaty was entered into merely to gain time. But while these things were in progress, the two monarchs, Henry VIII. and Francis I., paid the debt of nature. The latter, indeed, recommended to his successor the prosecution of the war in Scotland; and the counsellors of Edward VI. did not relax in their preparations to send a great military force into the same country. Hence, as the question at issue between the Government and the rebels was to be finally determined by an appeal to arms, nothing was wanting but a fair pretext to set aside all the conditions of the late agreement.

Nor was it long until an occasion presented itself which afforded to the occupants of the castle a plausible ground for refusing to surrender. The Papal document, by means of which they had hoped to obtain a complete amnesty so far as civil pains were concerned, and also a full restoration to the peace of the Church, was found to be very ambiguously expressed. His Holiness declared, that he had been induced

¹ Keith, p. 51.

“to pardon an unpardonable crime;” a mode of speaking, which, though it might only be intended to denote the aggravated nature of the offence, was regarded by the principal assassins as implying a reservation which might be afterwards turned to their disadvantage. They accordingly refused to open their gates, preferring to abide once more the perils and privations of a siege¹.

But the activity of the French Court anticipated the more tardy movements of the English Regency. A fleet, consisting of sixteen ships of war, under the command of Leon Strozzi, appeared in the Bay, having on board such military instruments and skilful engineers, as could not fail in a very short time to level the walls of the archiepiscopal palace, however resolutely defended. The ravages of a violent disease, too, aided the assault of the artillery; so that, after a few days' bombardment, the garrison found it necessary to make proposals. To escape the death of traitors, Leslie and his band yielded to the representative of his Christian Majesty, on the express promise, “that the lives of all within the castle should be saved; that they should be sent into France; and that, if they were displeased with their reception there, they should be conveyed, at the expense of the King, into any other country they might be pleased to name, Scotland only excepted².”

Among the captives thus sent to a foreign land,

¹ Leslie, lib. x. p. 460. Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 233.

² Buchanan, lib. xv. p. 296. Spotswood, p. 88. Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 211.

was the celebrated John Knox, who so far took part with the murderers of the Primate as to shut himself up with them in the Castle during the armistice. What were the precise motives which induced him to take this step, and to what extent it ought to be regarded as a token of his approbation of their conduct, cannot now be determined with any degree of certainty. That he did not condemn the assassination of Beaton, is manifest from the tone in which he narrates the occurrence in his History. Influenced by the spirit of the age he did not hesitate to pronounce it a "godly deed;" and in his remarks upon it, there is a levity and even a buffoonery, so inconsistent with the gravity of his character and the general solidity of his understanding, as to have induced a belief that they were not written by him, but by some one of those individuals who were appointed to prepare his work for the press. He himself endeavours to convince his readers, that he went to St. Andrew's, in order to avoid the persecution with which he was threatened by the Archbishop, and that "he might have the benefit of the castle." But it is not easy to comprehend the grounds on which he could expect safety in a town which was at once the residence of the prelate whom he affected to dread, and menaced with a hostile army serving under the command of the Regent. Perhaps he was satisfied that the conspirators would at length attain complete success, through the interposition of England, which we have seen had already promised a supply of men and money.

That the latter supposition is not altogether destitute of probability, may be rendered manifest by the

examination of certain facts which the industry of modern research has brought to light. About the time that Knox joined the rebels, a treaty was concluded between the latter and the government of Edward VI., by which, on condition of receiving military aid, they bind themselves to facilitate the execution of the various designs which were entertained in regard to Scotland. This convention is dated at the Castle of St. Andrew's, March 9, 1547; and presents, on the part of the conspirators, a distinct obligation, not to deliver up the place to the Queen-dowager or the Regent, during the minority of the Princess, while they promise to give up the Regent's son into the hands of the English King. Edward, on his side, agrees to maintain for their use a hundred and twenty foot soldiers and forty horsemen; to furnish them with artillery and ammunition; to grant them pensions; and to put them in possession of their estates in their own country, or to ensure an ample compensation in the South. In fact, there is the most indubitable evidence, that, at the period in question, Henry Balnaves, their agent, received in London £1180, "as one half-year's pay to the soldiers of the Castle;" and that Norman Leslie, the chief assassin, as well as other persons of rank and influence, attached to the same cause, enjoyed large salaries from the English exchequer¹.

It is indeed vain to attempt any separation between religion and politics, at that critical juncture of affairs. The friends of the Reformation

¹ See Burnet, as quoted above, and Stuart's History of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 66. Keith, p. 60.

supported those counsels which had for their object the union of the British crowns ; while the Romanists very naturally clung to that alliance, which, aided by the personal influence of the Queen-mother, promised to strengthen the foundations of their establishment, already somewhat shaken by the popular tempest. The success of the English arms, therefore, although employed against the national troops of Scotland, was regarded by the abettors of the new doctrines as equivalent to the victory of evangelical truth over inveterate error. In such circumstances, it weighed not much in the minds of the more zealous reformers, whether the hands which smote the Cardinal were moved by the spirit of piety, or merely by that of personal revenge. A powerful enemy to the faith was thereby cut off ; a path seemed opened up towards the redress of many grievances, and the advancement of the most valuable interests ; and viewing the fact in connexion with its probable results rather than with its immediate causes, they pronounced it a dispensation of Providence at once calculated to excite their gratitude, and worthy of being improved to the utmost extent of their means. Nor, in pursuing the important objects on which they had fixed their eyes, did they allow themselves to be turned aside by any nice distinctions between private reasons and public duty. They set the law of their country at defiance ; invited its enemies to take possession of its territory and strongholds ; and boldly announced their intention of proceeding to the accomplishment of their scheme over the ruins of the executive authority.

It cannot therefore be uncharitable to conclude,

that when Knox formed the determination to cast his lot among the conspirators, he was actuated by the mixed motives which have just been described. He could not be attracted thither by any respect for the character or conduct of the individuals who composed the garrison ; because, if they have not been grossly calumniated by the voice of history, their manners were such as to reflect an indelible disgrace upon the best of causes. “ As the besieged,” says an intelligent author, “ notwithstanding their pretences to a more pure worship, had during the siege lived in much debauchery within the Castle, so now, after they got this respite, and were out of all fear of an enemy, they did not only make frequent excursions into the neighbouring parts, and commit depredations with fire and sword ; but, as if the liberty got by their arms were to be spent in whoredoms, adulteries, and such like vices, they ran into all the wickedness which idle persons are subject to ; and they measured right and wrong by no other rule than their own lust.” Rough, their former chaplain, disgusted by their licentious conduct, and despairing of being able to effect any reformation among persons so rude, violent, and depraved, had retired from the castle, and obtained a living in England. Nor does it appear that any improvement took place under the ministry of Knox himself ; for, alluding to their shameful immoralities, he predicted that the curse of Heaven would light upon them, and defeat all their plans, whether in reference to spiritual or to secular purposes ¹.

¹ Lindsay of Pitscottie's *Chronicles of Scotland*, p. 486. Knox, lib. i. p. 76.

In reviewing the great events of history, and more especially such as have had the most direct influence on the progress of religious truth, it must occur to every reader, that there is a remarkable contrast between the instruments which have been employed by Divine Wisdom, and the results which have flowed from their operation. Whether we look to the monastery of Wittenburg, to the council-chamber of Henry VIII., or to the Castle of St. Andrew's, nothing will be seen which can minister to human pride, or exalt our estimate of the purity and disinterestedness of human motives. Selfish considerations are found to apply the first stimulant to the patriotic principle; circumstances combine to strengthen its energies, and give importance to its objects; and at length an achievement is accomplished, which, so far from forming any part of the original conception, was not at first esteemed either prudent or desirable. It may therefore be conceded, without any impeachment of his integrity, that Knox joined the licentious conspirators solely because he regarded them as proper tools for effecting a happy change in the religious constitution of his country; and particularly as he knew that they were in alliance with a powerful prince, whose faith and arms were pledged to afford assistance. The speedy arrival of the French, however, disconcerted his plan, and delayed for a time the fulfilment of his counsels.

But, returning a little to the ground over which we have passed, we may remark, that the interval of repose, produced by the convention between the Regent and the garrison, was improved with great zeal by the reformers. Rough had occasionally

preached to the citizens of St. Andrew's, and even argued with their priests ; but as his talents were of an inferior order, he appears not to have made a deep impression upon either party. It was reserved for the commanding abilities and popular eloquence of Knox to kindle the enthusiasm of the people, and to fill with indignation and alarm the minds of the established clergy. He laboured to convince the former that the Church of Rome had departed from the purity of apostolic times, in a greater degree than the Jews, at the era of Christianity, had degenerated from the ordinances of Moses. In his controversies with the more learned, he opposed, by an appeal to the language of Scripture, the conclusions which they deduced from the writings of the Fathers, or the records of Councils. His bold manner of reasoning, too, and the triumphant tone in which he carried his victory, delighted the multitude, who declared, that, instead of being satisfied with hewing down the branches of Popery, he struck a deadly blow at the root of the tree itself¹.

Having been invited by the adherents of the new doctrines to become their minister, he took possession of a church in the city, where, under the protection of his military friends, he pronounced a glowing philippic against the corruptions of the Romish communion².

The prelates and other churchmen, impressed with a sense of the danger which threatened their

¹ Knox, p. 69. Collier, vol. ii. p. 210. Keith, p. 61, 62.

² Knox, p. 70. Mackenzie's Life of Knox. Spotswood, p. 86, 87.

establishment, addressed the Regent and Council in a humble supplication ; deploring the rapid increase of heresy, the active dissemination of the pestilential opinions of Luther, as well as the innovations which were introduced respecting the blessed sacrament of the altar, and concluded by entreating that the spiritual jurisdiction might be aided by the secular arm. The civil government, without appearing to sympathize very profoundly in the apprehensions of the Bishops, required that the names of all relapsed heretics should be presented to them ; promising that the laws of the realm should be executed on every individual regularly convicted, according to the statutes of holy Church¹.

But the clergy of St. Andrew's adopted a wiser resolution than that suggested by the Governor and his assessors. In order to prevent Knox from occupying the pulpit whence he thundered his rebukes and invectives against their fraternity, they agreed to preach in succession every Lord's day ; it being privately understood among them that they should studiously avoid all controverted topics, and confine their labours to a practical illustration of the doctrines, the ritual, and the constitution of their own Church. Being deprived, by an expedient which he could not condemn, of this opportunity of addressing the people, he gave instructions throughout the week ; " none daring to offer him any wrong, because of the fear they stood in of them within the castle²."

¹ Keith, p. 62.

² Spotswood, p. 87. Mackenzie's *Life of Knox*, vol. iii. p. 113.

But the events already mentioned, the reduction of the fortress and the captivity of the garrison, put an end to his exertions for the advancement of evangelical truth, and secured to the Romanists a season of repose, as well as the hope of recovering all the ground they had lost. The progress of the reformation would, it is probable, have been checked, had not an English army, under the Duke of Somerset, immediately afterwards directed its march into Scotland, with the view of compelling the Regent to fulfil his engagement, relative to the marriage of the young King and Queen. While the war continued, the clergy observed great moderation; being perfectly aware that, if the object of the invasion were realized, the new opinions would receive the most powerful support from the conquerors, who, in their own country, had already identified a firm opposition to Popish ceremonies with the maintenance of public liberty and national independence.

(1648.) This state of neutrality was farther prolonged by the prudent counsels of Mary of Guise, the Queen-mother, who, being desirous to have the princess sent to France, found it necessary to suppress her feelings in favour of her own religion, and even to court the patrons of the Reformation. Nor did this ambiguous policy terminate with the marriage of her daughter to the son of Henry II. Her next object was to obtain the crown matrimonial for Francis, and the confirmation of her own power as Regent, in place of the Earl of Arran, whom she had induced to resign. After these achievements, indeed, she indicated to the preachers, by no uncertain tokens, that

she was not altogether indifferent to the faith of her ancestors¹.

(1551.) The established clergy, meanwhile, had recourse to various means for strengthening their position in the midst of enemies, whose influence and numbers were constantly increasing. To check the spread of heresy, they resolved to apply the strong hand of law; choosing for their victim a very inconsiderable person, whose name was Adam Wallace, and who appears to have been employed in the humble station of a domestic teacher. In the course of his duties, and particularly in catechising the young, he had taken occasion to expose the corruptions of the Romish Church on the doctrine of the sacrament, and to chide the reluctance which the prelates had shown to put the Scriptures into the hands of the people. He was condemned to suffer death at the stake, a sentence which he underwent with great firmness and composure².

(1552.) It had already become obvious to all but churchmen, that the effect of such melancholy spectacles was only to excite a deeper interest and curiosity about the tenets, for which so many persons had been content to die. Even the Primate perceived that severity alone was no longer sufficient to re-establish in the minds of men the confidence and veneration which had formerly been bestowed upon the clerical body. He therefore convoked a Synod,

¹ Keith, p. 55. Buchanan, lib. xv. p. 300. Leslie, lib. x. p. 470.

² Spotswood, p. 90. Knox, p. 87. Collier, vol. ii. p. 319.

where measures might be adopted for determining the more popular controversies, as well as for reforming the manners of the priesthood, and enforcing certain statutes which had been allowed to fall into disuse. One of the points submitted to this learned assembly was involved in the question, whether the Lord's Prayer might be addressed to the saints as well as to the Supreme Being? All the learning of the University of St. Andrew's had been expended in vain; the whole machinery of the ancient logic had been put in motion without producing any perceptible effect on the judgments of the hostile friars; and it was reserved for this synodical convention, held under the auspices of the Archbishop himself, to solve the difficulty. The decision at length pronounced was given in the following terms—that the *Pater Noster* should be said to God, yet so that the saints ought also to be invoked¹.

To counteract the impression produced in favour of the Reformers by the circulation of religious books and the exposition of the sacred volume, the Synod authorized the publication of a catechism, which contained a judicious explanation of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, without entering very minutely into any of the contested points of doctrine, so warmly discussed by their antagonists. The honour of composing this Manual is usually ascribed to the primate, Archbishop Hamilton, whose abilities and learning were thought not unequal to the task. It was intended that a por-

¹ Mackenzie's *Life of Archbishop Hamilton*, vol. iii. p. 103. Keith, p. 63. Spotswood, p. 91.

tion of it read in church, when there was no sermon, should supply to the people that species of theological information for which some of them had begun to manifest so strong a desire. But the enemies of the Establishment, having recourse to the weapons of ridicule and satire, in the use of which they showed themselves at all times very considerable proficients, taught the multitude to suspect the motives whence this rather tardy benefaction had originated¹.

At a future Synod, the clergy judged it proper to impose on the Scottish Church the various obligations, both as to belief and ceremony, which were conveyed by the decrees of the Council of Trent; declaring, that every one refusing to yield a ready obedience to them should be subjected to the pains of the several laws enacted against heresy. At the same time, the freedom of printing was suppressed by a parliamentary statute, which provided that nothing should thenceforth be published, without a licence signed by the authority of the Regent².

(1553.) The death of Edward VI., which took place in the month of July, and the accession of his sister, whose religious principles had already assumed a determined character, seemed to menace with delay, if not with an entire cessation, the progress of the new opinions in Scotland. But the cloud which appeared to ascend in the horizon was soon dissi-

¹ Collier, vol. ii. p. 320. Crawford's *Lives of Officers of State*, p. 377. Cook's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 363, note. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 39.

² Murray's *Collection of Laws and Acts of Parliament for Scotland*. Spotswood, p. 92. Leslie, lib. x. p. 476.

pated by an addition of light and warmth from the very same quarter. The persecution, which drove many able preachers from the dominions of Mary Tudor, supplied the northern vineyard with labourers, who afterwards showed themselves equal to the burden of the hottest day. Among these are mentioned Willock and Harlow, men whose minds had been expanded by the more liberal principles which prevailed in the south, and who, by a sedulous study of the best works of the continental divines, had acquired a respectable stock of theological learning¹.

The year 1555 was distinguished by the return of Knox to his native country, after having spent some time in France, Germany, and England. His treatment in the first of these kingdoms is said to have been more harsh than was justified by the terms of the convention, in virtue of which the conspirators gave themselves up to Leon Strozzi, the French commander. His subsequent release from the galleys, and his professional engagements at Newcastle, London, Geneva, and Frankfort, are well known to every reader of ecclesiastical history. On his arrival at Edinburgh, he preached boldly against the Mass; the ritual of which was still frequented by many individuals who had ceased to be satisfied either with its object or the authority on which it was ministered. His arguments were esteemed so convincing that several persons of rank, who "before had used it for the fashion, and the avoiding of slander," openly abjured the service, as at once extremely supersti-

¹ Keith, p. 64. Spotswood, p. 93.

tious, and pregnant with danger to their spiritual interests¹.

(1556.) The established clergy, alarmed at this decisive step, summoned the preacher to appear before an ecclesiastical judicatory, to be assembled for the special purpose. Knox, whose partisans now comprehended not a few among the more respectable orders of society, did not refuse to obey the citation; but, on the contrary, showed himself ready to answer, at the time and place appointed, to whatever charges his accusers might bring against him. Meantime a number of gentlemen, friendly to his views, had collected from the surrounding country, to witness the trial, and perhaps to protect the person of their champion, should a severe sentence be pronounced by his judges. This occurrence, together with certain indications of popular excitement in their own neighbourhood, was regarded by the Romanists, who had already learned to read the signs of the times, as a warning sufficiently intelligible, that the deliberations of their court would most probably be interrupted by clamour and violence. The prosecution was accordingly relinquished; and the triumphant Reformer, availing himself of this symptom of fear on the part of his opponents, preached forthwith to a larger audience than he had ever yet addressed in the capital of Scotland².

Encouraged by success so unexpected, he was advised to write a memorial to the Queen-Regent, urging the expediency of certain changes in the doc-

¹ Knox, book i. p. 90.

² Keith, book i. ch. 6. p. 64.

trines and ceremonies of the Church. Adopting this counsel, he directed his first letter to her Majesty through the Earl of Glencairn ; but she, apparently apprehending something very uncivil from a monitor so rude and uncourtly, refused to bestow upon it the attention to which such a communication was entitled. With an air of contempt, she put it into the hands of the Archbishop of Glasgow, describing it as a pasquil, or lampoon, meant to insult her religion, or debase her government. The author published it at Geneva two years afterwards, with considerable additions, and it is usually found subjoined to his " Historie ¹."

The bright prospect which now opened to the Scottish Reformers did not, however, induce Knox to remain among them, though at this moment his assistance appeared to be particularly necessary, and could hardly fail to be attended with the happiest results. Influenced by motives which have never been fully comprehended, he departed to Geneva, where, for a time, he became pastor of a Protestant congregation. The Popish clergy at Edinburgh, either ignorant of his retreat, or eager to seize an opportunity so favourable to their views, renewed their summons ; and as he did not appear, he was condemned to be burnt in effigy as a pestilent heretic. But this impotent revenge, as always happens in similar cases, completely disappointed their expectations. The friends of the absent preacher were moved with suitable indignation, while he himself,

¹ Knox, p. 92. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, vol. iv. p. 144.

upon being acquainted with what had taken place, published a spirited defence, entitled the "Appellation of John Knox from the Cruel, and most unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and clergy of Scotland ¹."

The co-operation of the multitude, which at once accelerated and disgraced the progress of evangelical truth in North Britain, began now to be perceptibly felt. On the festival of St. Giles, a national saint, the patrons of the old system resolved to try the effect of a solemn procession on the religious feelings of the people; and, in pursuance of this scheme, procured an image of the holy man, clothed and ornamented according to the rules prescribed on such momentous occasions. But the populace, animated with a furious zeal against such superstitious pageantries, laid violent hands on the idol, dashed it to the ground, and even proceeded to insult the officiating clergy. A tumult ensued, which was not suppressed until after a vigorous exertion of authority on the part of the magistrates ².

(1557.) The prelates applied to the Regent for redress and protection, upon which she summoned the preachers to appear before her Council to answer for their conduct. A large force assembled from different parts of the country, with the view of intimidating the government, and, in defiance of a proclamation, entered the streets of the capital. Upon being admitted to an audience at the palace, one of

¹ Keith, book i. ch. vi. p. 64. Spotswood, p. 94. Knox, p. 93, and 427.

² Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 310.

the leaders, addressing the mother and representative of their Queen, spake as follows, " We know, Madam, that this is the device of the Bishops who now stand by you ; we vow to God it shall not go so. They oppress us and our poor tenants to feed themselves ; they trouble our preachers, and seek to undo them and us all ; we will not suffer it any longer." As he concluded, he and his companions, with threatening looks, laid their hands on their swords. Alarmed at such words and gestures, her Majesty entreated these warlike deputies to refrain from violence ; assuring them that she would listen with calm impartiality to their dispute with the Churchmen ; that she entertained no evil thoughts towards their theological instructors ; and promised that the proclamation which had given offence should be immediately revoked ¹.

It has been remarked by historians, that from this period the interests of the Romish Church gradually declined ; that many even of the clergy became indifferent to her cause ; and that the ranks of her enemies were daily recruited by deserters from her worship. The strength and courage of the Reformers increased in an equal proportion ; and imagining that the time was now arrived when they might advance towards their great object with more publicity and form, they addressed a letter to Knox, inviting his return to the scene of his most important labours. They made known to him that the faithful in Scotland were still stedfast in the belief wherein he had left them, and had a " godly thirst and desire day by day of his presence again ;" adding, that they would not

¹ Knox, p. 34.

only be glad to hear his doctrine, but would show themselves ready to jeopard lives and goods for the setting forward the glory of God. "And albeit the magistrates in this country be as yet but in the state ye left them, yet at the making hereof we have no experience of any more cruelty to be used than was before ; but rather we have belief that God will augment his flock, because we see daily the friars, enemies to Christ's Gospel, in less estimation, both with the Queen's Grace and the rest of the nobility of this realm." Among the persons who signed this letter were Lord Lorn, afterwards the Earl of Argyle, and James Stuart, who at a later period acted so conspicuous a part as Regent, under the title of Earl of Murray ¹.

The character of Knox was far from being insensible to the flattery which was conveyed in this invitation, and, accordingly, without loss of time, he made preparations to comply with it ; though he was doomed to sustain no small disappointment, arising from the temporising disposition of the noblemen with whom he corresponded. Circumstances had occurred that seemed to inculcate the inexpediency of agitating the public mind with questions so inflammatory as those which respect the principles of religion, especially at a period when the foreign relations of the kingdom, and the weakness of the government, must have rendered any popular commotion extremely hazardous. The Reformer was therefore entreated by letters, which met him at Dieppe, not

¹ Life of Knox, p. 20, prefixed to *Historie*. Heylin, book iv. p. 145.

to prosecute his journey into Scotland at that moment, but rather to await for a time the issue of events as connected with the exertions of his friends.

It is not surprising that he should have perused this communication with feelings of anger and contempt. His reply, which breathes throughout a spirit of indignant remonstrance, depicts his character and views in the most lively colours. "God speaketh to your consciences that ye ought to hazard your own lives, be it against kings or emperors, for the deliverance of your brethren; for only for that cause are ye called princes of the people, and ye receive honour, and tribute, and homage, not by reason of your birth and progeny, as the most part of men falsely do suppose, but by reason of your office and duty, which is to vindicate and deliver your subjects and brethren from all violence and oppression. Advise diligently, I beseech you, with the points of that letter which I directed to the whole nobility, and let every man apply the matter and case to himself; for your consciences shall one day be compelled to acknowledge that the Reformation of religion and of public enormities doth appertain to more than to the clergy, or to the chief rulers, called kings¹."

The principles avowed by Knox in his epistle to the evangelical lords are not remarkable for their loyal spirit or peaceable tendency. He teaches them, not only to hazard their lives in prosecuting the great objects which they had professed a desire to accomplish, "be it against kings or emperors," but also to push onwards in the path of reform, without anxiously

¹ Knox, p. 98.

soliciting the concurrence either of the clergy or the chief rulers. His leading maxim, indeed, throughout the whole of his proceedings, was, to employ the co-operation of the civil government whenever it could be obtained, but to disregard its injunctions, and even to act in defiance of them, in all cases where they opposed the advancement of Christian truth, as advocated by his followers.

(1557.) His remonstrance, with an Address to the Nobles which accompanied it, failed not to produce on the wavering resolution of his friends, the effect that he had contemplated. After some deliberation they drew up a Bond, called by some writers the First Covenant, the intention of which was to unite in one body all who entertained the same sentiments on the necessity of reform. . It is expressed in the following terms :—

“ We, perceiving how Satan in his members, the Antichrists of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the Gospel of Christ and his congregation, ought according to our bounden duty to strive in our Master’s cause, even unto death, being certain of the victory in him. The which our duty being well considered, we do promise before the Majesty of God and his congregation, that we, by his grace, shall, with all diligence, continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God and his congregation ; and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful ministers, purely and truly to minister Christ’s gospel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and

every member thereof, at our whole powers and waging of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked Power that does intend tyranny and trouble against the foresaid congregation. Unto the which holy word and congregation we do join us; and so do forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof; and moreover shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto by this our faithful promise before God, testified to his congregation by our subscription to these presents. At Edinburgh, the 3d day of December, 1557 years. God called to witness¹."

This document was signed by several men of rank, as well as by a considerable number of inferior persons, who were distinguished by their attachment to the same principles. Resisting the ordinary feelings of a charitable and humble spirit, they describe themselves as constituting the Church, or congregation, of God, while the adherents of the older faith, still a decided majority of their countrymen, are denounced as the congregation, or church, of Satan. Viewed in such a light, the Romanists could not expect a greater degree of freedom in religious matters than they, in the days of their power, were wont to concede to their antagonists; and, from this epoch, accordingly, it became manifest to both parties that the important question at issue between them must be determined by strength of hand, rather than by argument, or an appeal to ancient authority². The

¹ Knox, p. 101. · Calderwood, p. 45. Heylin, p. 146.

² Knox, book i. p. 101. This deed was executed at Edinburgh, and signed by the Earls of Glencairn, Argyle, Morton,

Reformers having pledged themselves to measures so resolute, lost no time in setting forth a scheme of worship and scriptural instruction comprehended under these two heads :—

“ It is thought expedient that, in all parishes of this realm, the Common Prayer be read weekly on Sunday and on other festival days, in the churches, with the Lessons of the Old and New Testament, conform to the order of the Book of Common Prayer; and if the Curates of the parishes be qualified, that they be caused to read the same : and if they be not, or if they refuse, that the most qualified of the parish use and read them.

“ It is thought necessary that doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scripture be had and used privately in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people thereto, while (till) afterward that God move the Prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers¹.”

The object which the Lords of the congregation thus proposed to the zeal of their followers was much more deserving of praise than the means adopted by them for its accomplishment. In issuing an “ order to the whole realm,” they, in fact, assumed the government of the country ; setting at nought the power of the Regent, and making known, in the least ambiguous terms they could employ, their firm

Lord Lorn, and Erskine of Dun ; and all who entertained their opinions took the first opportunity of testifying their approbation, and of solemnly placing themselves under the same sacred pledge. Cook’s History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 31.

¹ Keith, p. 66. Knox, p. 101. Calderwood, p. 5.

determination to demolish the existing Church, and to build their own upon its ruins.

(1558.) The Romish clergy, meanwhile, were not a little dismayed at the indications of such a spirit, and the open avowal of a plan so hostile to their interests. They addressed to the Queen-mother the most pressing solicitations; complaining that the enemies of the Church were quietly allowed to proceed in maturing their schemes for its destruction; and intreating that the laws, enacted for the support of the ecclesiastical constitution, might be promptly and firmly executed. But the Regent, who still required the aid of the Protestants to enable her to realise the system of policy which she had founded on the marriage of her daughter, declined all interference in their behalf. Disappointed in his hopes from the Government, the Archbishop next attempted to induce the Earl of Argyle to retrace the steps which he had lately taken; to discourage the furious passion for indiscriminate innovation; and to join with the friends of monarchy in sustaining the old institutions of the kingdom. His success was not greater with this nobleman than with her Majesty the Queen-dowager; and it was, perhaps, while irritated by this opposition and indifference, that he gave his consent to an act which at once stained his character as a Christian prelate, and hastened the downfall of the establishment of which he was the head¹.

The execution of Walter Mill, the occurrence now alluded to, was extremely disgraceful to the clergy,

¹ Spotswood, book iii. p. 117. Keith, book i. chap. 6. p. 67.

and calculated to root out the small portion of respect which was yet entertained for them by the people. The victim whom they resolved to immolate was a man bending under the infirmities of age, having attained to more than fourscore years; and who, after being obliged to resign the charge of a parish, had long withdrawn himself from public notice. As no civil judge could be found who would pass sentence upon him, this invidious duty was performed, somewhat irregularly, by one of the Archbishop's domestics; some of whom were farther compelled to assist in dragging the venerable priest to the stake, where he was burnt alive. Before the fire was kindled, he reminded the spectators, that he did not suffer for any crime, but solely in defence of the truth of Jesus Christ; that as his life was the gift of God, so he freely resigned it as an offering to his glory; and entreated that, as they would escape eternal death, they should no longer permit themselves to be seduced by the lies of a corrupted Church, which he designated as Antichrist. It is said, that shortly before he expired, he gave utterance to a strong persuasion, in regard to his being the last who should endure a capital punishment in Scotland, for opposition to Papal errors. The people, it is added, were so much impressed by his words, and touched with pity for his fate, that they raised a pile of stones on the spot where his body was consumed; and though this rude memorial of affection was often removed by command of the clergy, it was constantly replaced by the same hands, until actual force was employed to check so unambiguous an expression of popular attachment. But notwithstanding all the

exertions of the priesthood to deter their enemies and conciliate their friends, the death of Walter Mill, as it has been remarked by a native historian, proved the death of popery in Scotland. The great body of the inhabitants avowed their determination to support the reformed doctrines; and, in the course of this year, many of them formally enrolled themselves as members of the new Church or congregation, of which the principles were now more generally taught and better understood ¹.

Their confidence in the sincerity of the Regent, together with her own positive assurances, satisfied the confederated lords, that she had not given her countenance to the martyrdom of the aged minister just named. It was, nevertheless, thought expedient to lay before her an address, containing at once a moderate expression of their sentiments, and a humble request for the enjoyment of certain privileges, now esteemed essential to the existence of their creed. They desired, 1st, that they might be allowed to meet publicly or privately for the purpose of praying in the vulgar tongue, to the end that their knowledge might increase, and that they might commend to God the Holy Church Universal, the Queen

¹ Spotswood, p. 97. Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 310. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 409. book ii. p. 43. The first of these authors has recorded an epitaph on Mill, meant, no doubt, to preserve against the Catholics those sentiments of indignation which his death could not fail to occasion.

“ Non nostra impietas, aut actæ crimina vitæ
 Armarunt hostes in mea fata truces.
 Sola fides Christi, sacris signata libellis,
 Quæ vitæ causa est, et mihi causa necis.”

their sovereign, her honourable and gracious husband, the stability of their succession, her Grace the Regent, the nobility and whole estates of the realm. 2d. That it might be lawful for any qualified person who was present, to interpret such obscure passages of Scripture as might occur. 3d. That baptism should be administered in the language of the country. 4th. That the Lord's Supper should be dispensed in the same manner, and should be given in both kinds, agreeably to the institution of our Saviour. 5th. That the wicked and scandalous lives of churchmen should be reformed, that the people might no longer have occasion to condemn their ministry; and that this reformation should be regulated by the precepts of the New Testament, the writings of the ancient Fathers, and the godly laws of the Emperor Justinian¹.

To this petition a very friendly answer was returned by her Majesty, who not only promised to protect the preachers until Parliament should come to some decision respecting them, but also gave her consent to the performance of Divine Service in the vulgar tongue, on condition, that, in order to avoid tumults, they would abstain from assembling in the metropolis or the immediate neighbourhood. Encouraged by their success in this instance, they made a similar application to an ecclesiastical synod, which was soon afterwards convened at Edinburgh; and even among the members of that assembly, they met with a spirit of conciliation, as well as a desire to adjust the main points of difference. The clergy insisted that the

¹ Keith, book i. chap. 8. p. 82. Heylin, book iv. p. 147.

Mass should be retained, as also the doctrine of purgatory, and the practice of praying for the dead; professing themselves ready to concede the use of the vernacular dialect in the worship of God, and in the administration of the two sacraments. But to these terms the Protestants could not yield their assent, and hence all hope of an amicable arrangement was immediately dissipated ¹.

The Parliament, to which both parties had looked forward with considerable anxiety, met in the month of November; and here was manifested a remarkable opposition of interests between the Regent and the prelacy of her own communion. The Archbishop, as brother to the Earl of Arran, or Duke of Chatelherault, as he was now commonly called, opposed the transfer of the Scottish crown to the Dauphin of France, and thereby brought upon his Church the frown of the Queen-dowager, who already showed that she preferred the aggrandisement of her native land to the honour of her daughter's kingdom. The Protestants, also, in order to accomplish their views in regard to religion, strenuously aided this personage in her endeavours to render the dominions of the Stuarts a province of the French monarchy ².

Mary of Guise, unwilling to distract the attention, or disturb the unanimity of Parliament, by discussions on religion, prevailed upon the reformers to rest satisfied with an assurance that she was still favourable to their interests, and would not fail to use the best means for promoting them when the proper time

¹ Spotswood, book iii. p. 119.

² Knox, p. 124. Calderwood, p. 5.

should arrive. The leaders of the congregation, however, thought it their duty to lay before the assembled states a declaration of their sentiments and wishes in respect to the great object which had so long engaged their thoughts, lest, as they remark, their silence should give occasion to their adversaries to imagine that they had repented of their former intentions. In this deed, which bears the name of a Protestation, they desire, that if any tumult or uproar shall arise among the members of the realm, for the diversity of religion, and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, the crime be not imputed to them; but that whatever inconvenience may arise, for want of timely redress, the same may be imputed to those who will not now listen to petitions for reformation¹.

The tenor and spirit of the several manifestoes which, about this time, were emitted by the preachers, left no room for doubt that their purpose was no longer restricted to a simple toleration of their own faith, but extended to the complete overthrow and removal of the ancient establishment. Nor did they conceal, that, in advancing towards this end, they might see it expedient to permit certain outrages on the part of the people, whom they were pleased to use as an instrument for intimidating the clergy, and paralysing the Government; while, as is usual in such cases, they endeavoured to throw all the odium and responsibility upon those, who, as guardians of the law, were bound to repress their too ardent desire for innovation.

¹ Heylin, book iv. p. 155. Spotswood, 120.

There is abundant proof, too, that, at the very moment they were claiming for themselves the privilege of worshipping God according to the dictates of conscience, they were not prepared to grant to others the same enviable freedom. Being taught to identify the most solemn service in the Romish Church with the rites of a gross idolatry, the greater number of their followers were ready, not only to deprive the members of that communion of the opportunity of joining in an ordinance endeared to them by every feeling of piety, but even to inflict upon them the severest punishments denounced in the Jewish law against such as violated the honour of Jehovah by bowing down to figures of wood and stone. Even the Queen-Regent is condemned for keeping the festival of Easter according to the ceremonial of her own Church; or, as the author of the history ascribed to Knox is pleased to express it, for that "she commanded her household to use all abomination at Pasch, and she herself, to give example to others, did communicate with that idol in open audience."

These and a variety of other reasons, some of which can only be made a subject of conjecture, gradually alienated the confidence of her Majesty from her Protestant confederates. She had gained to some extent her political objects, and therefore ceased to prize their co-operation; she saw their power becoming formidable, and was desirous to confine it within due bounds.

But, perhaps, the cause that operated with the most direct influence in producing the change just mentioned, must be sought in those great movements

which already began to agitate the councils of the principal Popish states on the continent. Elizabeth was now on the throne of England, and had assumed her place as the protector of the Protestant faith. The circumstances of her birth, aggravated by the imputation of heresy, created in the eyes of the French and Spanish sovereigns an insuperable bar to her accession as a lawful queen; and hence the intrigues, the threats, and the armaments, which were employed to undermine her throne, or to snatch the sceptre from her hand. At this crisis, the attention of both parties was drawn to Scotland, as a field in which the battles of faith and legitimacy might be fought with success. The princes of Lorraine, who at that time directed the affairs of government, resolved to use the authority of their sister and niece for the support of the ecclesiastical orders in that kingdom, as well as for the utter extinction of the hated schism which seemed about to separate for ever the whole of the British Isles from the Papal See. The Regent, accordingly, received instructions from her ambitious relatives to further by all means the interests of the Church, and to suppress by the strong hand of law the factious schemes of the reformers.

Having, under the influence of such views, reconciled herself to the established clergy, she solicited their assistance to enable her to adjust the differences which still divided the kingdom on the subject of religion. With this intention, a Convocation was assembled, consisting of the most learned and judicious members of the hierarchy, to whose consideration the chief points at issue between the contending

parties were formally submitted. The Protestants forwarded through the Regent, whom they were still willing to consider as their friend, certain articles, which were probably understood by them as comprehending the essential principles of the Reformation. They differ not, however, in any important particular from those formerly presented to her Majesty, except in regard to the election of the bishops and parish ministers; it being required on the part of the petitioners, that the superior clergy should be chosen by the gentry of the diocese, and the others by the people among whom they were to serve. They likewise intreated, as before, that prayers might be said, and the sacraments administered, in the language of the country; that all incumbents, insufficiently qualified for discharging the pastoral office, should be deprived of their benefices; and that such as were immoral or grossly ignorant, should be prohibited from performing the more sacred of the ecclesiastical functions ¹.

After suitable deliberation the Synod replied, that "what is decreed by the canon law concerning the election of bishops and pastors, ought to be maintained entire. And, moreover, seeing that the choice of prelates was a privilege belonging to the Crown, requiring only the consent of the Pope, to determine any thing in opposition thereto, at a time when the Queen was so young, would be a piece of very high indiscretion and insolence, and a treasonable encroachment upon the royal prerogative." As to the

¹ Leslie de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, lib. x. p. 504. Keith, book ii. chap. 8. p. 82.

language in which the service of the Church ought to be conducted, they declared that they could not sanction the use of any other than Latin, because it had been appointed by a high authority, under the severest penalties, and was become a rule which could not be infringed without violating the majesty of God. In respect to the exercise of discipline, the Convocation satisfied themselves with a reference to a decree of the Council of Trent, whereby all churchmen, of what rank and station soever, were obliged, within six months, either to discharge their offices in person, or to submit to deprivation¹.

Strengthened in her resolutions by the authority of this assembly, the Regent proceeded to adopt measures for the restoration of the Catholic worship. She issued a proclamation, enjoining all persons to attend mass, and make the wonted confession to the priests. A similar notice demanded compliance with the customary rites at the festival of Easter; and in order to realize her objects with greater certainty, she summoned the preachers to appear before Parliament, which was about to meet at Stirling, to answer to such charges as might be brought against them.

The lords of the congregation naturally regarded such procedure as the result of a settled determination to suppress their meetings, and thereby to extinguish the light of evangelical truth throughout the country. They accordingly sent two of their number, the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell, to plead the cause of the ministers, and to beg that her Majesty would not molest them, unless they

¹ Leslie, p. 504. Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 289.

were convicted of preaching false doctrine. Yielding to the irritation of the moment, she is said to have returned for answer, that, "in spite of all they could do, they should be banished from Scotland, though they preached as soundly as ever St. Paul did." Upon finding her resolved to persevere in her opposition to their views, they threatened to renounce their allegiance, and disown her authority; a menace which at once cooled her resentment and recalled her to reflection. She promised that nothing should be done to the prejudice of the ministers; and accordingly suspended, for a time, the summons by which they had been cited to present themselves at the bar of the supreme council of the nation¹.

(1559.) But in the midst of these concessions, matters were fast hastening to a crisis. The Queen was frequently heard to repeat, that the royal authority had been insulted; and that it was her determined purpose to recover for it the reverence and esteem which it had recently lost. The reformers, on the other hand, were not blind to the change which had taken place in her sentiments towards them, and already anticipated the necessity of an appeal to arms. Nor was it long before an occasion arose which called into action the latent feelings on either side. The people of Perth not only despised the royal injunctions for observing the ritual of the Church; but, openly professing their abhorrence of the Mass, as an idolatrous superstition, regularly attended the discourses of the preachers. The Regent

¹ Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 312. Knox, p. 126. Collier, vol. ii. p. 446.

instantly recurred to her scheme of force and coercion ; and renewing the citations which had been formerly addressed to the reformed clergy, she commanded them to appear at Stirling, where their conduct was to undergo a legal investigation. No sooner was this made known than great multitudes assembled from the adjoining counties, with the intention of accompanying their favourite teachers to the place of trial ; an occurrence which so much alarmed her Majesty, that she again readily listened to terms of accommodation. It is said, that she engaged to relinquish all proceedings against the preachers, on condition that the confederates should disperse ; though, having by many fair promises accomplished this object, she afterwards induced the judges to pass a sentence of outlawry upon the whole body, as contumacious and refractory rebels ¹.

This infringement of a treaty, to the provisions of which she had solemnly pledged her honour, excited the utmost indignation among the reformed, who saw no security for their cause but in the fearful expedient of a civil war. Knox happening to arrive in Scotland while the anger and disappointment of his friends were at the highest pitch, instantly repaired to the scene of action, and by an inflammatory harangue, in the form of a sermon, excited the people to the most violent extremities. He declaimed against the mass as the most flagrant corruption of religion, and the greatest scandal in the eyes of heaven ; representing, at the same time, that it was the bounden duty of every Christian man to check

¹ Knox, p. 127. Keith, p. 83. Lindsay, 202.

such an abuse, and restore the sacred ordinance to the simple form prescribed in the New Testament.

An accident contributed to bring to a practical issue the ardent expostulations of the preacher. After the discourse was ended, and only some "godly men" remained in the Church, a priest belonging to the establishment made preparations to say mass. The sight of certain pictures or images, which he displayed, added fury to the zeal of the spectators, who instantly directed their rage against the altar where the emblems of superstition were arrayed. Not content with punishing the indiscretion of the clergyman, they extended their violence to all the churches in the town, stripped them of all their ornaments, defaced the sculptures and paintings, as monuments of idolatry, and tore down the altars, the scene of what was now esteemed the most unpardonable abomination. Several monasteries shared the same fate; being pillaged, and demolished so entirely, that, in the course of two days, nothing was to be seen of these magnificent and costly edifices but the bare walls¹.

It does not appear that this assault was premeditated, though it was perhaps a very natural consequence of the indignation against the Popish ceremonies which it had been the avowed object of the preachers to excite among the people. Knox assures us that no gentleman nor "earnest professor" had any hand in this memorable riot, but that it was achieved solely by "the rascal multitude." He

¹ Knox, 125. Spotswood, 121. Heylin, 157.

relates that the "first invasion was upon the Idolatry, and thereafter the common people began to seek some spoyl," though, it is added, "that no honest man was enriched thereby the value of a groat." His candour, at the same time, compels him to acknowledge that the zeal which was so easily inflamed did not possess the accompaniment of learning or discrimination; the faithful in Perth being still "very young and rude in Christ." It may be remarked that Scottish writers, in general, show much solicitude to account for the insurrection now mentioned as a merely accidental eruption of popular rage, and as having no connection whatever with the principles recommended by the ministers in their occasional addresses from the pulpit. But, without ascribing to their dictation or encouragement the numerous scenes of disorderly violence which followed, it will be admitted that it remains a nice question to determine, how far those who rouse to madness the minds of an ignorant crowd are responsible for the crimes to which such excitement almost necessarily leads. Besides, it will not be denied by any candid reader of ecclesiastical history, during the period which is now passing before us, that the leaders of the congregation, both lay and clerical, extended at least a complacent connivance to all the outrages committed by the more bigotted and illiterate of their adherents. The proper apology, no doubt, must be drawn from the circumstance, that the most important part of the Reformation in Scotland was effected by force of arms, and while the country was divided by the animosities incident to a civil war. Hence the ruins of cathedrals and monastic institutions,

which were regarded as the fortresses of the enemy, must in this case be viewed in the same light as demolished castles and dismantled strongholds, in other countries which have been the theatre of more regular hostilities. As the object contemplated by the fervid partizans of Knox was not reformation, in the usual sense of the term, but a complete overthrow of the ancient system, they perceived no advantage in preserving edifices constructed for a species of public and private devotion, of which they meant not to allow the continuance. It was attributed to this celebrated man, as the most honourable distinction, that he struck not at the branches of the Romish Church, but at its root; and, accordingly, as it was his fixed resolution to retain nothing that belonged to it, whether in form, doctrine, or ritual, he apprehended no detriment to religion in the destruction of the most stately buildings.

The Queen Regent, incensed at these violent proceedings, collected an army with the intention of chastising the insurgents. In this enterprise she was joined by some of the leading Reformers, who had begun to feel a just alarm in regard to the ultimate views of men whose conduct, in this instance, showed that they weighed very lightly the restraints of public law, and the claims of private individuals. The congregation meanwhile, headed by the Earl of Glencairn, made preparations for defence. They sent an address to her Majesty, in which they made known their determination, that if they were pursued to extremities by those *cruel beasts* the churchmen, they would apply to foreign powers for assistance. They likewise appealed to the noblemen who had rallied

round her standard, maintaining that the late ebullition of pious resentment was justified by the word of God, which commands his holy ones to destroy idolatry and all the monuments of it. They acknowledged that all civil authority is sacred, but insisted that there is a great difference between such authority, considered in itself, and in connection with the persons who exercise it; and, hence, that though the one is worthy of all respect, the other may be opposed not only with argument but with arms. They remonstrated with those who had formerly embraced their cause, and told them "that as they were already reputed traitors by God, they should likewise be excommunicated from their society, and from the participation of the sacraments of the Church, which God by his mighty power had erected among them; whose ministers have the same authority which Christ granted to his Apostles in these words, "*Whose sins ye shall forgive shall be forgiven, and whose sins ye shall retain shall be retained*¹."

In addition to these several declarations, they published an address to the Established Church, bearing the following title: "To the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent prelates and their shavelings in Scotland, the congregation of Jesus Christ, within the same, sayeth." The spirit of the remonstrance itself was not more conciliatory than its superscription. They announce to the clergy that, "as ye by tyranny intend not only to destroy our bodies, but also by the same to hold our souls in bondage of the devil, subject to idolatry; so shall we, with all the

¹ Knox, p. 131. Calderwood, p. 8. Keith, p. 87.

force and power which God shall grant unto us, execute just judgment and punishment upon you. Yea, we shall begin that same war which God commanded Israel to execute against the Canaanites; that is, contract of peace shall never be made till you desist from your open idolatry and cruel persecution of God's children. And this, in the name of the eternal God, and of his son Jesus Christ, whose verity we profess and gospel we have preached, and holy sacraments rightly administered, we signify unto you to be our intent, so far as God will assist us to withstand your idolatry¹."

To avoid the bloodshed which must have ensued from the actual collision of the two bodies now in the field, of which the one was animated with a loyal enthusiasm, and the other with glowing zeal, the Regent listened to the advice of the Earl of Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrews, who earnestly recommended an accommodation. A treaty was accordingly concluded, in virtue of which both armies retired; but, before the congregation separated, they thought it expedient to express their suspicions of the Queen's sincerity by engaging in a new Association, which has been termed the Second Covenant. After stating that the object of all their labours was to set forth the glory of Jesus Christ, and that nothing could more effectually contribute thereto than the keeping a constant amity, unity, and fellowship together, they therefore become confederate, bound, and obliged, in the presence of God, to exert their whole powers to destroy and put away all things which

¹ Keith, p. 87.

dishonour his name, so that he may be truly and purely worshipped. "And in case that any trouble be intended against the said congregation, or any part or member thereof, the whole congregation shall concur, assist, and convene together, to the defence of the same congregation or person troubled; and shall not spare labour, goods, substance, and lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole congregation and every member thereof, against whatever power that shall intend the said trouble, for cause of religion or any other cause depending thereupon, or lay to their charge under pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cause ¹."

This engagement was signed by Argyle and the Prior,—now more commonly known by the name of the Lord James Stuart,—who, at this particular juncture, discovered that their interest or their duty required a less reserved avowal of their principles, as adherents of the reformed Church. It is said that they were alienated from the Queen by renewed indications of her want of truth. But, without asserting that her Grace never found it necessary to dissemble, it will not be denied by those who have minutely examined the course of events, during the regency of Mary of Guise, that many of the prominent personages who undertook to direct or to oppose the government, required no more than a pretext for changing sides. Whether the Lord James secretly aspired to the throne of Scotland, which he might hope to obtain through the ascendancy of the new

¹ Lindsay, p. 204. Spotswood, p. 122. Knox, p. 137.

doctrines, is a point that can never be certainly determined. There is no doubt, however, that such a suspicion was entertained at the period, and even communicated to the English Court, in the official correspondence between Throckmorton and Secretary Cecil¹.

Excited by fears, real or imaginary, the congregation re-assembled their forces, and made preparations for open war. The powerful voice of Knox was once more lifted up, and the work of devastation was immediately renewed. At Perth, Stirling, Edinburgh, and St. Andrews, the finest specimens of ecclesiastical architecture of which Scotland could boast, were levelled with the dust; the priests were expelled; and the inhabitants of the religious houses turned out to seek their bread among the charitable, or in the pursuits of secular life. At length, the Reformers proceeded so far as to depose, by a formal deed, the Queen Regent from her authority; a step which they were encouraged to take by the representations of the preachers, Willocks and Knox, who assured the hesitating lords of the new church, that an ample justification of their conduct might be found in the pages of the Old Testament. The latter of these orators had recourse to his favourite distinction between the civil government, viewed as a Divine

¹ "I am secretly informed that there is a party in Scotland for the placing of the Prior of Saynte Andrewes in the state of Scotland; and that he himself doth, by all the secret means he can, aspire thereunto; whereof I thought to give you knowledge, as well for the more certain understanding of the same as for further consideration to be had what the Queen's Majesty hath to do in this case." Forbes, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 180.

appointment, and the persons by whom it might be administered; repeating the assurance, that, while they withdrew their obedience from the representative of Majesty, they had no intention whatever of neglecting their duty towards their sovereign¹.

Such proceedings, which began to appear in the eyes of many as quite inconsistent with the exercise of monarchical power, created a strong re-action among all classes of the people above the very lowest. It was impossible to view without suspicion the conduct of men who thought they might so far trifle with the common sense of the nation as to use the name and authority of their absent Queen to drive from the helm of affairs her own mother, who had been formally invested with the direction of the state. Every person of ordinary reflection, too, must have anticipated the most fatal results from the interference of theologians, who rashly suspended the constitutional law of the country, in order to make way for a system founded on the economy of the ancient Hebrews. The common soldiers, moreover, who fought under the banner of the Congregation, contributed, by their disaffection, to strengthen the returning popularity of the Dowager. They put to death a servant of the Earl of Argyle, who endeavoured to re-establish order amongst them; they insulted several persons of rank, who showed a desire to soothe their minds; and they even ventured to declare that, for a proper reward, they were ready to suppress the Reformation, and set up the mass²."

¹ Knox, p. 141. Keith, p. 91. Heylin, 159.

² Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 521.

(1560.) Amidst the gloom with which they were now surrounded, the confederates naturally turned their hopes towards England, and resolved to solicit help from Elizabeth. This wise ruler, though unwilling to countenance rebellion under whatever pretext it might appear, could not shut her eyes to the hazard in which the success of the Romish party in Scotland would infallibly place her, menaced as she was at that moment by the powerful monarchs of France and Spain. After a show of deliberation with her counsellors, she consented to aid the Protestants with men and money ; and thereby enabled them once more to take the field against the Regent. Various skirmishes ensued in the neighbourhood of the capital, without being attended with any such results as could materially affect the issue of the war. But, at this momentous period, when the battles of Francis II. and the English Queen were about to be fought on a great scale in the Scottish territory, Mary of Guise was relieved by death from the increasing difficulties of her government¹.

(1560.) A negociation, which immediately followed this event, terminated in a treaty whereby provision was made for the withdrawal of both armies, the French and English, from Scotland. The royal commissioners consented that the States of the kingdom should assemble on the tenth day of July, in order to hold a Parliament, which was to be adjourned till the first day of August; stating that, in the interval, they would inform the King and Queen of this

¹ Leslie de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, lib. x. 526. Keith, 127. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 29. Spotswood, p. 146.

concession, and supplicate them most humbly that they would be pleased to agree to it. And this Assembly, it is added, "shall be as valid in all respects, as if it had been called and appointed by the express command of their Majesties, provided always that no matter whatsoever shall be treated of, before the said first day of August." It was likewise conceded, that conformably to the ancient laws and customs of the nation, the King and Queen should not declare war nor conclude peace, without the concurrence of Parliament; that during the Queen's absence, the administration of government should be vested in a council of twelve persons, to be chosen out of twenty-four named by Parliament, seven of which were to be nominated by her Majesty and five by the Legislature; that, for the future, the King and Queen should not advance foreigners to places of trust or dignity in the realm, nor confer the offices of Treasurer or Comptroller of the revenues upon any ecclesiastic; that an Act of Oblivion, abolishing the guilt and memory of all offences, committed since the 6th of March, 1558, should be passed in the ensuing Parliament, and be ratified by the two sovereigns, Francis and Mary; that the same royal personages should not, under colour of punishing any violation of their authority during the period just specified, seek to deprive any of their subjects of the offices, benefices, or estates, which they now hold; that the redress due to churchmen for the injuries which they had sustained during the late insurrections, should be left entirely to the consideration and judgment of the States about to be assembled. With regard to religious controversies, the ambassadors

declared that they would not presume to decide, but, as being of great importance, judged them proper to be remitted to the King and Queen¹.

By this treaty, it has been justly remarked, the sovereign authority was transferred wholly into the hands of the Congregation; that the limited authority, which the Crown had hitherto possessed, was almost entirely annihilated; and the aristocratical power which always predominated in the Scottish government, became supreme and uncontrollable.

In the article which respects the assembling of the States, there is a degree of ambiguity which has not a little perplexed the narratives of Scottish historians. The Deputies or commissioners from Mary and her husband Francis, who, because they considered them as rebels, refused to treat with the lords of the Congregation, consented, nevertheless, to listen to certain petitions from them, in regard to the maintenance of the laws, liberty, customs, and privileges of the kingdom; and even, as they were empowered by the sovereigns whom they represented, to grant certain "concessions" to the nobility and people of Scotland. The part of the commission which relates to the adjustment of differences with the insurgents in North Britain, is expressed in these words: "And in like manner, to give assurance to our subjects of the kingdom of Scotland that, notwithstanding they have of late committed so grievous a crime as to forget their duty towards us, if nevertheless they shall repent and return to that obedience which they

¹ Hayne's State Papers, vol. i. p. 335. Acta Regia, vol. iv. p. 17.

owe to us, we are willing to receive them into favour, and to forget all that is past, and not afterwards to make any inquiry into their former behaviour ; because we are desirous of nothing more than to see them living under obedience to us, and in peace, unity, and tranquillity together ¹."

From the tenor of this document it is manifest that the concessions meant to be granted to the Scottish nobles and people had a reference to their condition, as rebels, lately in arms against their lawful government, and must, of course, have been chiefly confined to pardon, oblivion of offences, and restoration to favour on condition of repentance and renewed allegiance. It may be presumed, therefore, that the petition relative to the assembling of the States had not been expected by the commissioners, Montluc and Randan ; and moreover that they exceeded their powers when they consented to yield the privilege which was thereby solicited. That the petitioners were viewed by their sovereigns in the light now described, is rendered obvious by the language which they employ respecting them : "Whereas the rebellion of some of our subjects of Scotland has been the occasion that, upon the frontiers of the said kingdom and those of England, there has been some gathering together of soldiers from both kingdoms, which may have interrupted in some sort our common amity," &c. That the Bishop of Valence and his colleague were conscious that they had transgressed the limits of the authority with which they were invested, may be

¹ Keith, p. 131.

reasonably inferred from the condition or stipulation which they annexed to the particular concession now under review. They give their consent that the States of the kingdom may assemble, in order to hold a Parliament, on the tenth day of July now running, "provided that, on the same day, the Parliament shall be adjourned till the first day of August following," at which time, it was understood, they were to commence business, if hostilities should have entirely ceased. But they add that, "during the interval of adjournment, the Lords Deputies (namely, Montluc and Randan themselves), shall order a despatch to the King and Queen, *to advertise them of this Concession, and supplicate them most humbly that they would be pleased to agree to that which they have herein accorded.*" The Commissioners, indeed, immediately subjoin: "and this Assembly shall be as valid in all respects as if it had been called and appointed by the express commandment of the King and Queen; provided always that no matter whatsoever shall be treated of, before the foresaid first day of August." But, in this case, there was manifestly implied the condition, stated in the preceding sentence, that is, the agreement or concurrence of the King and Queen, which the Deputies were to supplicate most humbly in the despatch they had resolved to send to their Majesties. The long adjournment, it is probable, had some reference to the attainment of the royal sanction in favour of the individuals already met in order to hold a Parliament, and which, if conceded, would indeed have rendered it as valid, in all respects, as if it had been called

and appointed by the express commandment of Francis and Mary.

As the acquiescence of the Queen and her consort was not bestowed, it cannot be surprising that a question should have arisen as to the legality of this Parliament. In truth, it is not easy to imagine such ignorance or facility of temper as could have induced their Majesties to put into the hands of subjects, whom they had just described as rebels, and whose pardon they were pleased to represent as an act of grace, not only the entire administration of affairs, but the power of completely remodelling the constitution of Church and State. It is admitted, on all sides, that the privilege of holding a Parliament, unrestrained either by the presence of the Sovereign, or by the authority of a Commissioner acting in her name, must necessarily have rendered the popular leaders supreme and uncontrollable. Those writers, accordingly, who allow themselves to suppose that the counsellors of the royal couple were either blind or indifferent to the effects likely to result from such a convention, legislating in such circumstances, confer very little honour on their discernment and patriotism ¹.

¹ Mr. Chalmers, in the second volume of his elaborate work, entitled "Caledonia," has questioned the authenticity of the full power or Commission on which the envoys of Francis and Mary are said to have negotiated with the English ministers, Cecil and Wotton. The original of the commission is nowhere to be found; the copy preserved in the Cotton library being only a transcript, furnished to Cecil through the rather suspicious channel of Lord James Stewart, Lord Ruthven, and the Secre-

tary Maitland. Dr. Cook has displayed much ingenuity in his attempt to answer the objections of Chalmers; but his reasoning does not altogether remove the suspicion of fraud which derives so much strength from the character of the persons as well as of the times to which the discussion relates. See *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 632; and *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. lxix. Appendix.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE MEETING OF PARLIAMENT IN THE YEAR
1560, TO THE REGENCY OF THE EARL OF MURRAY.

Parliament meets—Discussion as to its legality—Supplication in regard to religion—Confession of Faith—Abolish the Mass under severe penalties—Send notice to Francis and Mary—Messenger ill received—Defence of the Congregation—Their alarm—Death of Francis—Book of Discipline—Rejected by the nobility—Reasons assigned by Knox—Remarks on its object—Correspondence with English Bishops—Freedoms used with the language—Service of the Church liturgical—Knox used a form of prayer in private—Lords refuse the patrimony of the Church, but grant authority to demolish monasteries and other religious houses—Great devastation—Arrival of Queen Mary in Scotland—Her proclamations in favour of the new religion—Suspicion of the Protestants—Their prayers and sermons—Conduct of Knox—Supplication of the Church—Tumults—Knox summons the people to attend the trial of the ring-leaders—Is himself accused—Tried by Council, and acquitted—Ministers abandoned to poverty—Selfish conduct of the Lords—Thirds, granted to the reformed clergy, very irregularly paid—Laymen become indifferent to the Protestant Creed—Assembly petition the Queen for the abolition of the Mass in her own person and household—Her Majesty's reply—Bad faith attributed to the Earl of Murray—Intrigues of the discontented Lords with Elizabeth—Fate of Mary sealed—Civil war—She surrenders herself to the rebels, and is sent to the castle of Lochleven—Petition of the Ministers—Earl of Murray appointed Regent—Reformation established by Parliament.

(1560.) AFTER the prescribed adjournment, the Parliament met and was very numerously attended,

especially by the lower class of freeholders and commissioners of boroughs; who, though they had for many years ceased to take any share in the direction of public affairs, deemed it expedient, on this occasion, to assemble in great strength. Nothing perhaps could afford a more lively proof of the popularity of the Reformation than the fact now stated. Above a hundred of the lesser barons, as they were called, shaking off their wonted indifference, or parsimonious habits, repaired to the capital, accompanied, there is reason to believe, by a large band of adherents. It had indeed become usual among the friends of the new church, to make, at every important crisis, a powerful demonstration of physical force; being aware that, in the disturbed condition of the kingdom, a menace of rebellion would have greater weight in the councils of Francis and Mary than the most animated appeal to justice or reason¹.

Before the members could proceed to business, it was necessary to remove the difficulty, which it was hardly possible to evade, in respect to the regularity and lawfulness of their meeting. Those who doubted its legality reminded their associates that the King and Queen had neither sent a commissioner to them, nor in any way signified their approbation, so as to impress the authority of law upon their acts and deliberations. In reply, an appeal was made to the words of the fourth Concession, annexed to the treaty of Edinburgh, by which permission was given to hold a convention of the States; little regard being paid

¹ Buchanan, lib. xvii. p. 326. Knox, 236. Heylin, book iv. p. 157.

to these two essential circumstances, first, that the said treaty had not been ratified by their sovereign ; and, secondly, that her deputies, Montluc and Randan, had refused to yield an unconditional assent to the petition of the Congregation on this very point. After a week spent in preliminary discussion, the legality of this celebrated Parliament was established, so far as it might be, by a majority of votes ¹.

The interesting subject of religion was soon brought before the States, in the form of a petition or " Supplication." This document, as might be expected, condemned, in severe terms, the errors of the Papal Church, and more particularly transubstantiation, pilgrimages, purgatory, prayer to the saints, indulgences, and the doctrine which ascribes merit to good works. It demanded, also, that a remedy should be applied to the profanation of the Sacraments, committed by the Roman Catholics ; and that the ancient discipline should be immediately restored. In conclusion, it insisted upon an entire abolition of the supremacy of the Pope ; and that the revenue of the ecclesiastical establishment should be employed in supporting the Reformed ministry, in maintaining schools, and in supplying the wants of the poor ².

The lords of the Congregation lent a ready ear to the Supplication of their spiritual guides, so far as it respected the claims of religion, regarded as a system of doctrine and pious usages. But the suggestion relative to the temporal provision of the priesthood

¹ Spotswood, p. 149. Keith, book i. ch. 12. Hayne's State Papers, vol. i. p. 355.

² Knox, book iii. p. 239. Collier, vol. ii. p. 467.

excited in their minds very different feelings; it being quite inconsistent with the views which already began to develop themselves relative to the final appropriation of sacred lands and tithes. Instead, however, of opposing the scheme by any direct argument, they endeavoured to confine the zeal of the preachers to objects more strictly theological; requesting that they would without delay digest, under distinct heads, the articles which they wished to have established by law, and submit them to the consideration of Parliament.

In a few days a Confession of Faith was produced, which, without much examination, was adopted as the standard of national belief. It is remarkable that the prelates of the former establishment, of whom several were present, made no opposition to a deed, which was intended not only to supersede the tenets of their Church, but to consummate an entire ecclesiastical revolution. Various reasons have been assigned for this strange acquiescence. It is not unlikely that they remained silent, from a conviction that, in such circumstances, opposition would prove vain; that it might exasperate those whom it could not convince; and that it might even convert into persecutors the very men who, a little before, had exposed with so much feeling and power of argument, the nefarious practice of restraining the exercise of conscience by civil penalties. Besides, it must not be concealed, that many of the spiritual Lords, admonished by the course of events, had resolved to share in the plunder of the gorgeous temple which they could no longer defend. The conversion of abbeys into temporal baronies, and the alienation

of estates by leases and fictitious sales, induced not a few of the dignified clergy to connive at the ravages of their adversaries ¹.

Having sanctioned by their approbation the Confession of Faith, the Parliament next proceeded to pass several acts against the professors of the Romish creed. By one of these, they abolished the Popish service; declaring, at the same time, that the ancient clergy were nothing better than usurpers, and that the new preachers were the only persons possessed of power to administer the holy sacraments. It was likewise provided by the reformed legislature, that the sayers and hearers of mass should, for the first offence, forfeit all their goods, moveable and immoveable, and suffer a corporal punishment besides at the discretion of the magistrate; that for a repetition of this misdemeanour, they should be banished out of the kingdom; and that, if they transgressed in a similar manner a third time, they should be put to death. The other statutes had for their object a repeal of all the acts which former parliaments had devised in favour of the Popish Church, and, in a word, the total extinction of all the power and jurisdiction which his Holiness had at any time claimed or exercised within the limits of Scotland ².

These decisive steps were taken in avowed defiance of the arrangement entered into with the Royal

¹ Calderwood, p. 14. Knox, p. 239. Keith, p. 149. Skinner, ii. p. 112.

² Knox, book iii. p. 254. Spotswood, p. 150. Cook, ii. p. 334.

commissioners, in the "Accord," as it has been sometimes called, or concessions which were granted to the nobility and people by Mary and her husband. Montluc and his colleague, considering the articles which respected religion as too delicate or important for their decision, "judged them proper to be remitted to the King and Queen." The lords of the congregation accordingly had engaged, that some persons of quality should be chosen from the convention of states, to proceed to their Majesties, in order to lay before them their sentiments relative to ecclesiastical matters, and to hear their intention and pleasure in regard to these and all other things on which their representatives could not venture to determine. But instead of submitting a simple memorial to their sovereign, embracing an outline of the scheme that they were desirous to have established by law, the Parliament at once enacted certain statutes, as well for abolishing the national Church, as it then existed, as for substituting another in its place. It is not surprising, therefore, that the messenger who was sent to Paris to relate the transactions of the States, and to request a confirmation by the Queen and her consort of all the innovations which had been thereby introduced, should have been indifferently received. He was, in fact, loaded with reproach, and dismissed without an answer.

Such of the Scottish historians as are favourable to the Reformation, have displayed much ingenuity in their attempts to reconcile the conduct of the Parliament with the express terms of the Accord, in virtue of which alone the States were permitted to assemble. In a case of which the circumstances are

so peculiar, it were better at once to proclaim the principle of expediency, which, it is acknowledged, must occasionally supersede the authority of constitutional law, than to have recourse to sophistry so gross and palpable, as to offend the most obtuse understanding. If the consent of the Crown be essential to the constitution of a legal Parliament, the convention which met in August, 1560, was neither regular nor legal; and if any regard be due to the conditions of a pacification between rebellious subjects and the supreme government, it is equally obvious that the Protestants had no right to enact laws for the regulation of the national faith. The more candid, indeed, readily admit, that, by these proceedings, the lords of the congregation openly violated the last article in the concessions granted at Edinburgh, and even exceeded the powers which belonged to them, as individuals professing obedience to monarchical rule. But it is added, as an apology, that "when once men have been accustomed to break through the common bonds of subjection, and their minds are inflamed with the passions which civil war inspires, it is mere pedantry or ignorance to measure their conduct by those rules which can be applied only when government is in a state of order and tranquillity. A nation, when obliged to employ such extraordinary efforts in defence of its liberties, avails itself of every thing which can promote this great end; and the necessity of the case, and the importance of the object, justify any departure from the common and established forms of the constitution¹."

¹ Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 236.

In truth, from certain observations made by Knox, it appears, that the reformers did not expect a ratification of their acts; and that, in soliciting this favour of the King and Queen, they rather complied with a respectful usage, than meant to express any value for their sanction—"That we little regarded, or do yet regard: for all that we did was rather to show our debtful obedience, than to beg of them any strength to our religion; which from God hath full power, and needeth not the suffrage of man, but in so far as man has need to believe it, if ever he shall have participation of the life everlasting¹."

The indignation of the young sovereigns, inflamed, no doubt, by their relatives, the Princes of Lorrain, excited considerable alarm in Scotland. The members of the new communion could not conceal from themselves, that their conduct had been irregular, and that the Queen might justly reverse all their proceedings, and even visit some of them with the punishment which is due to traitors. But from all such apprehensions they were speedily relieved by the death of her husband, who departed this life on the fourth day of December; an event which materially weakened the interest of France in the affairs of her kingdom, and, at the same time, imposed upon Mary the necessity of cultivating the affections of her native subjects².

Meantime, the government was administered by the Council of Twelve, whom the convention of states had been pleased to nominate, in virtue of the

¹ Historie, p. 255.

² Camden's Annals, p. 60. Keith, p. 157.

Accord or concessions so often mentioned. This body, immediately after the dissolution of Parliament, directed their attention to ecclesiastical arrangements; being anxious to devise a scheme for enforcing the doctrines contained in the Confession lately sanctioned by the legislature. In order to accomplish this important object, they requested six individuals selected from among the ministers most eminent for their talents, and held in highest reverence by the people, to frame a constitution for the Church; or, as Knox expresses it, "to draw, in a volume, the policy and discipline of the Kirk." This committee consisted of the great reformer himself, Winram, Sub-Prior of St. Andrew's, John Spotswood, father of the historian, John Willock, John Douglas, Rector of St. Andrew's, and John Row. They engaged in the interesting work assigned to them with zeal, moderated by more than the usual caution of the age, and produced the First Book of Discipline, which still remains a striking instance of the industry and principles of the distinguished persons just named, as well as of the clerical community whom they represented¹.

Of this celebrated composition the historian remarks, that "some of the nobility approved and willed the same to be set forth as a law; others perceiving their carnal liberty and worldly commodity to be thereby somewhat impaired, grudged in so much that the name of the Book of Discipline became odious unto them. Every thing that repugned to their corrupt affections, was termed, in their

¹ Spotswood, p. 152.

mockage, *devout imaginations*. The cause we have before declared : some were licentious ; some had greedily gripped (seized) the possessions of the Church ; and others thought they would not lack their part of Christ's coat, yea, and that before ever he was hanged, as by the preachers they were oft rebuked. Assuredly, some of us have wondered how men that professed godliness, could, of so long continuance, hear the threatenings of God against thieves, and against their houses, and knowing themselves guilty of such things as were openly rebuked, and that they never had remorse of conscience, neither yet intended to restore any thing of that which long they had stolen and reft. There were none within the realm so unmerciful to the poor ministers, than were they who had the greatest rents of the kirkes ¹."

As it is only from the treatise just described that the model of ecclesiastical polity contemplated by the early Scottish reformers can be ascertained, the consideration of its leading principles may properly occupy, for a brief space, the attention of the reader. It is true that different views were afterwards introduced, and a much nearer approach made to the scheme of Church-government recommended by the practice of Geneva ; but it is, nevertheless, perfectly manifest, that the history of religion in Scotland cannot be understood, without an analysis of the First Book of Discipline. Besides, it is at this point where the northern communion begins to deviate from the form and usages of episcopacy, strictly

¹ Knox's *Historie*, p. 160.

so called ; for, although the plan submitted by Knox to the examination of the Council did not give any direct countenance to the system of parity among clergymen, in which his innovations ultimately terminated, there can be no doubt that it laid open the path wherein his successors advanced towards the completion of their favourite object.

It is here, too, that the question originates respecting the true character and purposes of the Reformation in that kingdom. In the Claim of Right, presented to the Convention of States in the year 1689, it is asserted, that “ prelacy, and the superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters, is and hath been a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to the nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ; they having reformed from popery by presbyters.” The truth of this assertion has been denied by episcopal writers, both on the ground that very few persons, invested with the presbyterial order, took any share in the measures which led to that event ; and also because the polity, originally established under the auspices of Knox, bore a greater resemblance to prelacy than to the method which finally obtained in the Kirk.

The Book of Discipline is divided into nine heads, according to the following arrangement : on doctrine ; on the Sacraments ; on the abolishing of idolatry ; concerning ministers and their lawful election ; concerning the provision of ministers, and distribution of the rents and possessions justly pertaining to the Church ; of the rents and patrimony of the Church ; concerning the censuring of offenders ; concerning

elders and deacons ; of the censure and deposition of ministers ; concerning the policy of the Church ¹.

In regard to the clergy, the authors of this reformed scheme divide them into three orders : the Superintendent, the parochial Minister, and the Reader. Of the first, who were intended to discharge several of the duties usually attached to the episcopal office, ten were appointed by the Council to a corresponding number of dioceses. " These men," it is added, " must not be suffered to live idle, as the Bishops have done heretofore, neither must they remain where gladly they would, but they must be preachers themselves, and not remain in one place above three or four months ; after which they must enter in visitation of their whole bounds, preach thrice a week, at least, and not to rest till the churches be wholly planted, and provided of Ministers, or, at the least, readers. In their visitation, they must try the life, diligence, and behaviour, of the Ministers ; the order of the churches, and the manners of the people ; how the poor is provided ; and how the youth is instructed : they must admonish where admonition needeth, and dress all things that by good counsel they are able to compose. Finally, they must take note of all heinous crimes, that the same may be corrected by the censures of the Church."

Knox informs his readers, that superintendents were nominated, not so much to meet any special emergency connected with the times in which he

¹ See Bishop Sage's " Fundamental Charter of Presbytery," in which the Constitution of the first reformed Church of Scotland is ably analysed.

lived, as that "all things in the Church may be carried with order and well." It is remarkable, too, that the compilers of the Book of Discipline were distinguished by prelatical principles to the end of their days. Winram, for example, died superintendent of Strathern; Willock was superintendent of the West; Spotswood was many years a superintendent, and, as we learn from his son, the ecclesiastical historian, continued hostile to presbyterian parity; Douglas became Archbishop of St. Andrew's; and Row was one of the three who afterwards defended the lawfulness of diocesan episcopacy at the conference appointed by the General Assembly in 1575. That Knox himself was no enemy to prelacy, considered as an ancient and apostolical institution, is rendered clear by his "Exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of Christ's Gospel." Addressing the government of the young king, Edward VI., he says, "Let no man be charged with preaching of Jesus Christ above that which a man may do; I mean, that your bishoprics be so divided, that every one of them (as they are now for the most part) may be made ten; and so in every city and great town there may be placed a godly learned man, with so many joined with him for preaching and instruction, as shall be thought sufficient for the bounds committed to their charge." In short, no one was more deeply convinced than the Scottish reformer, that, to use the words which he adopted from Calvin, "parity breedeth confusion¹."

¹ The views entertained by the Scottish reformer on the important subject of episcopal superintendence, might be studied

But the prelatical nature of the institution which they recommended is still more clearly unfolded in the powers they conferred on the superintendents, more especially as confirmed by the voice of succeeding assemblies. In the first place, they had authority, in certain circumstances, to depose ministers from their office, as well as to admit such as were duly elected. The same privilege extended to the translation of incumbents from one parish to another, according to their views of expediency or advantage. They had power even to take account of what books every minister had, and how he profited from time to time by the perusal of them. It is provided, too, that "such as take upon them the office of Preachers, who shall not be found qualified by the superintendent, shall by him be placed as readers:" and an inhibition is made against all those ministers who have not been presented by the people, or a part of them, to the superintendent, and whom, after examination, he had not appointed to their charge. It was, moreover, enacted, that, if the parishioners were found negligent in electing a minister, and forty days were permitted to elapse without a choice being made, the superintendent, with his council, should present one whom they might judge apt to feed the flock. All parish ministers, on the other hand, as soon as admitted to churches, were bound to pay canonical obedience to their

with advantage in modern times. He wisely judged, that, to promote the welfare of religion and of the Church, the number of bishops ought to be increased, and the dioceses subdivided into more convenient portions of the Christian flock.

superintendents. Thus, in the Assembly holden at Edinburgh in 1562, "it was concluded by the whole members present, that all ministers should be subject to the superintendent in all lawful admonitions, as is prescribed as well in the Book of Discipline, as in the election of superintendents."

Besides the power of summoning diocesan synods, they could, with the advice of their clergy, appoint provincial fasts, whenever it was thought necessary. They were also invested with the rather invidious privilege of assigning to ministers the amount of their stipends.

Because universities, colleges, and schools, are the seminaries of learning, and consequently nurseries for the ministry, the power of the superintendents over them was very considerable. It was, accordingly, provided by the First Book of Discipline, that, if the principal or head of any college in the University of St. Andrew's should die, the members of the college, being sworn to follow their consciences, were to nominate three of the most sufficient men in the University. This done, the superintendent of Fife, by himself or his special procurators, with the rector and the rest of the principals, were to choose one of the three and constitute him principal. And when the rector, or vice-chancellor, was chosen, he was to be confirmed by the superintendent.

Again, all the moneys collected in every college for the upholding the fabric, was "to be counted and employed at his sight." The Assembly of 1565, in their petition to the Queen, intreat, "that none might be permitted to have charge of schools and universities, but such as should be tried by the

superintendents." The revising and licensing of books were in like manner committed to the care of these ecclesiastical governors. It was fixed by an act of Assembly, that "no work be set forth in print, neither yet published in writ, touching religion or doctrine, until such time as it shall be presented to the superintendent of the diocese, and advised and approven by him, or by such as he shall call of the most learned within his bounds." It may be added, as a farther proof of the greater office and precedence of this order of men, that the living provided for the superintendent by the First Book of Discipline, was five times as much as was allotted to any private minister.

These marks of pre-eminence in the highest order of clergy, sanctioned by the first reformers of the Scottish Church, have been given, with the view of setting at rest any doubt which may arise in the mind of the reader, as to the object and authority of that ecclesiastical appointment. The associates of Knox, it is obvious, were not presbyterians, and had no intention of setting up a system of parity among the ministers of their new establishment. If farther evidence were wanting, a reference might be made to a letter written by Erskine of Dun to the Regent, dated November, 1571, in which he maintains not only the expediency, but even the Divine authority of the episcopal office in the Church of Christ. Erskine, it is well known, was a fellow-labourer with the great reformer in new-modelling the constitution of the Kirk, and was himself one of the original superintendents; hence it may be inferred, that the opinions which he expresses, in an official communication to

the head of the government, were those entertained by the whole body to which he belonged. Alluding to the instructions and authority which St. Paul directed to his disciples Timothy and Titus, when he appointed them to the charge of Ephesus and Crete, he remarks, "thus have we expressed plainly by Scripture, that to the office of a bishop pertain examination and admission into spiritual cure and office, and also to oversee them that are admitted, that they walk uprightly, and exercise their office faithfully and purely; to take away this power from the bishop or superintendent, is to take away the office of a bishop, that no bishop be in the Kirk. There is a spiritual jurisdiction and power which God has given unto his Kirk and to them who bear office therein; and there is a temporal jurisdiction and power given of God to kings and civil magistrates. Both the powers are of God, and most agreeing to the fortifying one of the other, if they be rightly used. As to the question, If it be expedient that a superintendent be where a qualified bishop is? I understand a bishop or superintendent to be but one office, and where the one is the other is."

There is not, in fact, the smallest room for doubt, that, in the estimation of the early reformers of the Scottish Church, the office of superintendent was invested with much of the power and dignity which belong to bishops. This is very generally admitted; but it is insinuated, at the same time, that a distinction so manifestly prelati- cal was not meant to be permanent, being calculated only to meet the exigencies of the infant community. Calderwood, Petrie, and some other writers of later date, have

taken infinite pains to represent the appointment in question as merely introductory to the more perfect system of parity by which it was at length succeeded : But an enlightened and candid historian of the Reformation, whose works have been given to the public in the course of the present century, exposes the absurdity of that opinion, and readily allows, that Knox and his coadjutors had no intention of making any farther change.

“ They who,” says he, “ have embraced episcopacy, although they are not averse to maintain that the First Book of Discipline in fact sanctioned a form of prelacy, would have preferred to that form an exact resemblance to the Church of England ; while the successors of the first reformers, who afterwards embraced with so much zeal the exclusive and divine authority of the Presbyterian model, consider it as a stumbling-block which they are eager to remove. They have accordingly represented the institution of superintendents as not designed by Knox to continue in the Church ; and thus endeavour to gain to their principles his countenance and approbation. But the ground upon which they rest this assertion is not sufficient to bear it. It is apparent from the manner in which Knox has spoken of the state of religion while superintendents were recognised, from the uniformity with which he inculcated deference and obedience to the higher ecclesiastical powers, and from the language used in the acts of the successive Assemblies, in some of which superintendents are explicitly classed among the needful members of the Church, that he was firmly persuaded that his plan ought to be permanent ; that so far

from being only a 'devout imagination,' as some of the nobility contemptuously characterized it, it was the best scheme which presented itself to his mind¹."

There are, indeed, many records still in existence, which allude to the office of superintendent as one of the permanent institutions of the Protestant establishment. For instance, there is found among the Acts of the General Assembly, a petition to the Lord Regent, in 1574, praying that stipends be granted to superintendents *in all time coming*, in all counties destitute thereof, whether it be where there is no bishop, or where there are bishops who cannot discharge their office. Surely the expression "in all time coming," as applied to the maintenance of the first order of clergy, is altogether irreconcilable with the opinion that their office was meant to be but temporary. Even in the first Book of Discipline, rules are laid down for supplying vacancies by election, whensoever a superintendent shall depart this life or happen to be deposed. And it is added that, "after the Church shall be established and three years are past, no man shall be called to the office of a superintendent, who hath not two years at least given a proof of his faithful labours in the ministry of some Church."

This approximation to the episcopal model was perhaps the greatest that could be made in those troubled times, when the various official titles depending on the ancient hierarchy were associated in the minds of the people with notions of ignorance,

¹ Cook's History of the Reformation in Scotland, vol. ii. p. 417.

sensuality, and idleness. The very term bishop was offensive to them ; and hence the expedient of giving a new translation of the Greek word which is used to designate the rulers of the Church.

Allusion has already been made to the fact that, in the early stage of the Reformation, a great laxity of opinion was allowed to prevail, in regard to the nature and origin of sacerdotal authority. In many cases, all distinction between laymen and members of the priesthood, was utterly contemned as a Popish prejudice ; and the history of that period accordingly presents a number of preachers who, immediately upon leaving mechanical employments, assumed the office of ministers. Ordination to the clerical functions fell into entire disuse. Nothing more was required but an election or nomination by the parishioners ; a certain examination as to morals and the gift of popular oratory ; and a verbal appointment by the presiding Divine to the charge of the congregation. In the Book of Discipline it is said, “ other *ceremonies* than the public approbation of the people, and the declaration of the chief minister, that the person there presented is appointed to serve that Church, we cannot approve ; for albeit the apostles used the *imposition of hands*, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not to be necessary.” In another place, they observe that “ it is not the shaving of their crowns, the crossing of their fingers, the blowing of the dumb dogs called the bishops, nor the laying on of their hands, that maketh them true ministers ; but the Spirit of God first moving the heart to enter into the holy calling, then the nomination of the people, the examination taken by the

learned, and public admission in manner aforesaid, are the things that make men lawful ministers of the word and sacraments. We speak of the ordinary vocation in churches reformed, and not of the extraordinary, whereby God is pleased sometimes to raise up men by himself for doing his work ¹."

It is not a little remarkable that, notwithstanding this apparent absence of all restriction in the exercise of holy functions, the authors of the scheme now under consideration, thundered out a most tremendous anathema against all who should administer the sacraments, without being duly called to the ministerial office. Their wrath, it is obvious, was directed against the Roman Catholics, or papistical priests, as they were wont to designate them, who, they asserted, had neither power nor authority to minister the ordinances of Christ. "Now, men are so bold as, without all vocation, to minister the sacraments in open assemblies, and some presume to do it in houses without all reverence, where there is neither minister, nor word preached. Our desire is, that some strict punishment be inflicted on such abusers; which, albeit we will not take upon ourselves to prescribe, yet we fear not to say that both of them deserve death."

Thus, though the form of the Knoxian establishment was prelatical, no regard was paid to those sacred rites by which the servants of the altar had, at

¹ Spotswood, p. 174. Lauder, in his "Ancient Bishops," &c. remarks, that ordination is "but a ceremony, on which the validity of the ministerial call doth not in the least depend." This author published in 1707.

all former times, been separated to their office. Every individual, if he did not belong to the Romish communion, might take upon himself the duties of a priest, provided he could assert either the outward call of the people, or the inward vocation of his own zeal. It was for these reasons that the ecclesiastical constitution, sanctioned by the Reformers, was held defective by the more enlightened episcopalians; and not because the Greek term, denoting a bishop, was rendered by a Latin synonym, instead of the more familiar expression recommended by vernacular usage. The authors of the Book of Discipline were not ignorant of the import either of the original word or of the one by which they conveyed its meaning. They knew that the phrases, bishop, superintendent, and overseer, were perfectly equivalent; and they, accordingly, used them all, as occasion seemed to require, as applicable to the same office. “Will you acknowledge this your brother for the minister of Jesus Christ, your OVERSEER and pastor?”—is one of the questions put to the clergy and people at the admission of their diocesan. And it is added, “Will ye not maintain and comfort him in his ministry, and watching over you, against all such as wickedly would rebel against God and his *holy ordinance*?”—thereby ranking the office of superintendent among the appointments of the Divine head of the Church. At the instalment of Spotswood, as described in the Old Scottish Liturgy, the officiating minister used the following expression in his prayer, “Send unto this our brother whom, *in thy name*, we have charged with the *chief care* of the Church, within the bounds of Lothian, such portion of thy holy Spirit as thereby

he may rightly divide thy word to the instruction of thy flock ¹."

The reader may perhaps condemn this waste of time, in collecting proof where there is no room for doubt, and in establishing a point which is not worth contesting. It is conceived, however, that besides the importance attached to historical truth in general, it is of some consequence to ascertain precisely the opinions of the early reformers in Scotland, on the very essential heads of Church government and discipline; and more particularly as some extremely disingenuous arts have been employed, by party writers, to disguise their proceedings, and pervert their language.

It is impossible to give a stronger instance of the unfairness now mentioned than the change which has been made in the address of a letter written by Knox at the desire of the General Assembly in 1566, to the clergy of England in favour of the Nonconformists. The proper superscription of the said epistle, as found in a manuscript copy of the Acts of Assembly, is as follows: "The superintendents, ministers, and commissioners of the Church within the realm of Scotland, to their brethren the bishops and pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus in sincerity, with the increase of the Holy Spirit." In Knox's history, however, which it is well

¹ See "The Psalmes of David in Meeter, with the Prose. Whereunto is added Prayers commonly used in the Kirke and private houses," &c. Edinb. 1611. This is usually called Knox's Liturgy.

known, was not all written by that reformer, and which was not published till many years after his death, the above direction is thus altered: "The superintendents, with *other* ministers and commissioners of the Church of God in the kingdom of Scotland, to their brethren the bishops and pastors of God's Church in England, who profess with us in Scotland the truth of Jesus Christ."

The object kept in view by the change of "superintendents and ministers" into "superintendents and *other* ministers," is too obvious to be mistaken; particularly when it is considered that, before the "Historie of the Reformation" saw the light, many among the Scots had been taught to hold in abhorrence every species and semblance of official pre-eminence in the Kirk. In the amended inscription, too, there is another omission, proceeding from similar motives, and intended to answer a similar purpose. Knox accosts his brethren, the Bishops, as having renounced the "Roman antichrist," and as professing the Lord Jesus in sincerity; but his editors, who had already learned to identify episcopal government with an antichristian corruption, thought it expedient to leave out the expression altogether. They even omit the words "in sincerity," as implying too great a compliment to their brethren in the south; and as, to wish them an "*increase* of the Holy Spirit," was indirectly to allow that they already enjoyed some portion of the heavenly grace, they expunged entirely the benevolent, primitive, and christian sentiment, with which the distinguished Reformer concluded his address.

In the body of the letter, likewise, there is a striking instance of the same determination to vitiate the original, wherever its language was at variance with the newer opinions. As the organ of the General Assembly in 1566, Knox thus expresses himself: "We return to our former *humble supplication*, which is, that our brethren who, amongst you, refuse these Romish rags, may find of you, who are the prelates, such favours as our Head and Master commandeth every one of his members to show to another." But those who put forth his book, long after he was in his grave, were pleased to modify his language to suit the altered views of their own age. They make him write as follows: "We return to our former *request*, which is, that the brethren among you, who refuse the Romish rags, may find of you, who *use and urge* them, such favour," &c. It was now become convenient to conceal that ever a General Assembly had owned the bishops of England as prelates; and therefore it appeared advisable to foist into the document, which happens to be still preserved, some less gracious epithets; to call them not prelates, but users and urgers of the ceremonies.

The same paltry and disingenuous spirit pervades much of Calderwood's History, and contaminates many parts of the work of Petrie. These writers omit, for instance, several Acts of Assembly, which seem favourable to the views of their opponents, or only quote them in terms so general as to conceal their real import and object. They appear to have set out with a determination to establish the opinion, cordially cherished by themselves, that the Scottish

Reformation was begun and carried on solely by presbyters, and also that the model of Church government, contemplated from the first moment of opposition to the Papal establishment, was that founded upon parity in the clergy, and on the institution of lay elders and deacons. To accomplish this object, they scruple not to overlook the avowed sentiments of the leading persons engaged in that struggle for religious liberty; they even ascribe to them principles and motives which none would have made greater haste to abjure.

It is worthy of remark, too, that during this period the worship of the Church was chiefly liturgical, and that the service used for several years after the Reformation was the Prayer-Book of Edward VI. In 1557, as has been already noticed, the lords of the congregation ordained that, in every parish, the Common Prayer should be read weekly on Sunday and other festival days, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament. A similar injunction is repeated in the First Book of Discipline: "in great towns we think it expedient that every day there be either sermon or Common Prayer, with some exercise of reading the Scriptures." It is not to be concealed, however, that the reformed preachers did not entirely restrict themselves to set forms; for while they recommended the use of the liturgy on those less solemn occasions, when they themselves, it may be presumed, did not officiate, they remarked, that "on the day of public sermon we do not think the Common Prayer needful to be used, lest we should foster the people in superstition, who come to the prayers as they come to the mass, or give them reason to

think that those are no prayers which are conceived before and after sermon¹."

It is clear, notwithstanding, that Knox individually continued to use a liturgical service in the worship of God. He entertained objections to the English Book, as it stood in the reign of the sixth Edward, and therefore employed the influence which he justly possessed over his brethren to introduce, in place of it, the form used at Geneva; and which, in consequence, has been frequently called by his name, and also known by the title of the Old Scottish Liturgy. We are assured by Spotswood that he had set forms of prayer read every day in his family; and Richard Bannatyne, his servant or amanuensis, relates, in his Journal, that his master continued to the last to conduct his private devotions according to the ritual of the Church, and that a few hours before he expired, he repeated aloud the Lord's Prayer and the Belief. "The Tuesday after this, the said Mr. Knox was stricken with a grit host (great cough) whearwith he being so feebled, caused him, upon the fifteenth day of November, lieve his ordinarie reading of the Bible; for ilk (every) day he read a certaine chapter in both the Old Testament and the New, with certaine psalmes, which psalmes he passed through everie moneth once²."

In this modified attachment to the ancient consti-

¹ Skinner, vol. ii. p. 127.

² Journal of Transactions in Scotland, p. 414. See also page 421, where it is related that Knox was visited on his deathbed by "the Kirk," "who after the prayer red for the scik (as it is in the Psalme Buicke) they departit with tearis." The Psalme Buicke here mentioned is the Old Scottish Liturgy.

tution and ritual of the Church, the Scottish Reformer manifested sentiments similar to those which were entertained by Calvin, Beza, Bucer, and other foreign Protestants. The most impartial narratives of that age represent these distinguished persons as favourable to the episcopal form of government, and hostile to nothing in the ecclesiastical constitution which had reached their times, except its manifold abuses. Knox had been resident at Geneva a considerable period before he returned to his own country, during which he is known to have profited by the experience and counsel of those celebrated theologians; and hence, we may view the prelatical structure of the communion founded north of the Tweed, as an indirect proof that the system of parity among clergymen had not yet received the sanction of the leading opponents to the Romish superstition, either at home or abroad. So far, indeed, was Calvin from approving of the model, to which some of his followers were afterwards so desirous to conform, that he pronounced an anathema against all who had it in their power to enjoy a reformed episcopacy, and were yet so ignorant or stubborn as to reject it.

From the belief which long prevailed that Knox refused a bishopric from the English monarch, it has been inferred that he could not free his mind from certain objections, in regard to the ecclesiastical polity retained by Henry VIII. and his amiable son. But a similar mode of reasoning would lead directly to the conclusion, that he was unfriendly to the scheme which he himself devised and had recommended to the chiefs of the congregation; for he never accepted the office of superintendent in the

Kirk, of which he was long considered the principal ornament and protector, choosing rather to confine his exertions to the duty of a private minister in the city of Edinburgh. Perhaps he was not blind to the advantages which accrued to him from this apparent self-denial. Occupying a position in the capital, in the vicinity of the court, and in the very centre of the executive authority, he could exercise a degree of influence which he must have sacrificed, had he assumed the care of a diocese, and fixed his residence in a remote country town. Impelled by the fervid workings of a vigorous mind, and by that ambition which is inseparable from great talents when called to act in their proper sphere, he did not conceal his sense of the importance attached to his character, as well as to his labours in the cause of religious truth and freedom. He accordingly enjoyed, during the remainder of his life, an eminence hardly inferior to that which had been conceded to his friend Calvin in the church of Geneva; but which, in the latter case, was esteemed so dangerous to Christian liberty, and, at the same time, so little consistent with the humility of a Protestant divine, that it was never conferred upon any other.

(1561.) The Book of Policy, however agreeable to the Protestant lords, as an outline of religious faith and discipline, did not obtain their sanction. The distribution recommended in it of the wealth of the Church, accorded not with the views which had actuated some of the principal members of the aristocracy. But when the ministers petitioned to have the remaining monuments of idolatry destroyed, the pious barons showed that their zeal in this respect

had in no degree abated. Considering every ecclesiastical edifice as a relic of superstition, the Convention of States, eager to employ the intemperate ardour of the people on any object rather than the patrimony of the priesthood, passed an act for the destruction of all monasteries and other buildings, which had been polluted by the service of the Mass.

To ensure the accomplishment of this end they committed the execution of their order to persons the most remarkable for their antipathy to the usages of the Roman Catholics, the Earls of Argyle, Arran, and Glencairn, and the Lord James Stuart. Abbeys, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even tombs, perished in one general ruin. The words of Spotswood, in reference to these proceedings, are striking and picturesque. " Thereupon ensued a pitiful vastation of churches and church buildings, throughout all the parts of the realm ; for every one made bold to put to their hands ; the meaner sort imitating the example of the greater, and those who were in authority. No difference was made, but all the churches either defaced or pulled to the ground. The holy vessels, and whatsoever else men could make gain of, as timber, lead, and bells, were put to sale. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared. The registers of the church and bibliothèques were cast into the fire. In a word, all was ruined ; and what had escaped in the time of the first tumult, did now undergo the common calamity. Some ill-advised preachers did likewise animate the people in these their barbarous proceedings, crying out, that ' the places where idols had been worshipped, ought

by the law of God to be destroyed, and that the sparing of them was the reserving of things execrable; as if the commandment given to Israel for destroying the places where the Canaanites did worship their false gods, had been a warrant for them to do the like. The report also went, that John Knox (whose sayings were by many esteemed as oracles) should in one of his sermons say, that 'the sure way to banish the rooks was to pull down their nests:' which words (if any such did escape him) were to be understood of the cloysters of monks and friars only, according to the act passed in the council. But popular fury once armed can keep no measure, nor do any thing with advice and judgment¹."

The Reformation, being now established in the approbation of the people, had nothing to fear but from the indifference or aversion of the Queen, who, about the close of the summer, had arrived in her native kingdom. The steps which were already taken by the Protestant peers could not fail to excite her apprehensions in regard to the freedom which she might be permitted to enjoy, in worshipping God according to the custom of her fathers; and though she had been advised to confide to their direction the management of affairs, she could not overlook the many sources of disquietude which lay concealed in the difference of their religious sentiments.

Soon after her return, she issued a proclamation, enjoining every one to submit to the established faith, and to give no disturbance to the preachers; but these persons could not be induced to yield a similar

¹ Spotswood, p. 175.

toleration to their sovereign, even in the exercise of domestic devotion. They were determined that the "idol of the mass" should not be again erected in the land. Nay, some laymen, with the Lord Lindsey at their head, declared that the "idolater should die the death." The pulpits resounded with prayers that God would turn the Queen's heart, which was obstinate against him and his truth; "or, if his holy will were otherwise, that he would strengthen the hearts and *hands* of the elect, vigorously to oppose the rage of all tyrants." It was, in fact, openly made a question whether, being an idolatress, she was entitled to any authority even in civil matters ¹.

The people of Edinburgh, whose taste and judgment were equally perverted by the miserable fanaticism of which they had become the victims, contrived to insult her, in the midst of the very rejoicings consequent upon her arrival in that capital. While returning to her palace from the castle, where she had dined, a pageant was so constructed as to exhibit a little boy, as it were let down from heaven, having in his hands a bible, a psalter, and the keys of the garrison. Although the import of these emblems could hardly be mistaken, the royal imagination was assisted by other figures which spoke still more distinctly to her fears, as a member of the Church of Rome. "The rest," says Randolph, in his letter to Secretary Cecil, "were terrible significations of the vengeance of God upon idolaters; there were burnt Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, in the time of their

¹ Keith, 179, 202. Spotswood, p. 179.

sacrifice. They were minded to have had a priest burnt at the altar at the elevation, but the Earl of Huntly stayed that." With a degree of indelicacy, too, that could not have been tolerated except in a very rude age, they constantly associated papists with persons of the most indecent and licentious lives; insinuating very plainly that her Majesty, who protected the one, could not be unfriendly towards the others. The magistrates of the city, on their own authority, set forth a proclamation, banishing from their district "all the wicked rabble of Antichrist, such as priests, monks, friars, together with adulterers and fornicators." The Privy Council, it is true, suspended from office these presumptuous meddlers; but the latter, being supported by the preachers and the multitude, were in the end triumphant against the government, though acting under the immediate direction of the sovereign. It is not surprising, therefore, that the English resident, writing to the Secretary of State respecting the Scottish nation, should have used the following terms: "I think marvellously of the wisdom of God that gave this unruly, inconstant, and cumbersome people no more power nor substance; for they would otherwise run wild¹."

(1562.) The domination of the Popish hierarchy had now passed away; but it was only to give place to a still more despotic thralldom, imposed by the ascendancy of abstract tenets, in opposition to the long rule of irresponsible authority. It was found accordingly that the followers of Knox assumed a

¹ Keith, p. 202. Knox, p. 336.

direction of the faith and worship of their disciples, not less absolute than was ever claimed by a papal legate ; and it was accompanied, too, with a degree of rustic presumption and familiarity which rendered it extremely disagreeable to every mind possessed of the smallest delicacy or polish.

The behaviour of the Reformer himself, in the presence of the Queen, was equally disgusting for its spiritual pride and low vulgarity. Upon hearing that he was wont to attack her character in the pulpit, she called him to court, in order that he might have an opportunity of explaining some very offensive passages which had reached her ears. After listening to his own version of the invective, she remarked, " Your words are sharp enough, even as you have spoken them, but yet they were told to me in another manner. I know that my uncles and you are not of one religion, and therefore I cannot blame you, albeit you have no good opinion of them : but if you hear any thing of myself that mislikes you, come to myself and tell me, and I shall hear you¹."

Such candour and mildness, so well fitted to disarm resentment in the breast of a subject, were certainly entitled to a civil reply. But Knox, who, on some occasions, appeared gratified with an opportunity of humbling the pretensions of the most elevated rank, began his answer by stating his conviction that the princes of Lorraine, her uncles, were enemies to God and to his son Jesus Christ, and predicted that all their enterprises would be attended with discomfiture. As to her own request to be

¹ Knox, p. 310.

favoured with his advice or admonition in private, whenever he thought her pursuing a wrong course, he remarked that he would be glad to do all he could to her Grace's contentment, provided that he exceeded not the bounds of his vocation. " ' I am called, Madam, to a public function within the Kirk of God, and am appointed by God to rebuke the sins and vices of all. I am not appointed to come to every man in particular, to show him his offence, for that labour were infinite. If your Grace please to frequent the public sermons, then doubt I not but ye shall fully understand, both what I like and what I dislike, as well in your Majesty as in all others. Or, if your Grace will assign unto me a certain day and hour, when it will please you to hear the form and substance of doctrine which is proposed in public to the kirks of this realm, I will most gladly wait upon your Grace's pleasure, time, and place. But to come to wait upon your chamber door or elsewhere, and then to have no farther liberty, but to whisper my mind in your Grace's ear, or to tell you what others think and speak of you, neither will my conscience, nor the vocation whereunto God has called me, suffer it. For albeit at your Grace's commandment I am here now, yet can I not tell what other men shall judge of me, that, at this time of day, am absent from my book, and waiting upon the Court.' — ' You would not always be at your book,' said she, and so turned her back : and the said John departed, with a reasonable merry countenance¹."

Nor did this zealous Reformer at all times confine

¹ Knox, p. 310.

himself to expressions so dutiful and guarded. At a subsequent conference, when her Majesty entreated him to interpose his authority with the brethren, in order to save from murder some devoted Catholics, he refused to comply. "She travelled with him two hours earnestly before her supper, that he would be the instrument to persuade the people, and principally the gentlemen of the west, not to put hands to punish any man for the using of themselves in their religion as pleased them." But no reasoning nor solicitation could induce Knox to forego the purpose of putting the papists to death. In fact, notice had been already given to certain priests, abbots, and friars, that the Protestants had resolved not to lose time by making complaints to the Queen or Council, but to execute the laws upon them wherever they should be apprehended, inflicting "the punishment which God has appointed to idolaters, by such means as they might." "What!" exclaimed Mary, "will you allow that they shall take my sword into their hands?" "The sword of justice, Madam," said he, "is God's, and is given to princes and rulers for an end, which if they transgress, sparing the wicked and oppressing the innocent, they that, in the fear of God, execute judgment where God has commanded, offend not God, although Kings do it not, neither yet do they (offend God) who bridle kings to prevent them from striking innocent men in their rage. The examples are evident; for Samuel feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate King of Amalek, whom King Saul had saved; neither spared Elias Jezebel's false prophets, and Baal's priests, albeit that King Ahab was present. Phineas was no magistrate, yet feared he

not to strike Cosbi and Zimri in the very act of filthy fornication. And so, Madam, your Grace may see, that others than chief magistrates may lawfully punish, and have punished, the vices and crimes that God commands to be punished: and, in this case, I would earnestly pray, that your Majesty should let the Papists understand, that their attempts will not be suffered unpunished¹."

The Church, as a body, displayed no less zeal than her individual members. The General Assembly framed an address to the Queen, in which, after telling her that the mass was a bastard service of God, the fountain of all impiety, and the source of every evil which abounded in the nation, they expressed their concern that she had not, long before, preferred truth to her own prejudices, and renounced the Popish religion, which they took leave to assure her was nothing but abomination and vanity. They added, that the abuses of government were so enormous, that if a speedy remedy were not provided, the Almighty would not fail in his anger to strike the head and the tail, the disobedient Prince and the sinful people. They took heaven and earth, as well as her own conscience, to witness, that the obstinate maintenance of that idol, the mass, would prove to her in the end destruction of soul and body.

The Secretary Lethington condemned their hard words, and did not conceal his opinion, that their language was treasonable. Some of the ministers "wished that more sharpness had been used, because

¹ Historie, p. 288.

the time so craved ;" while others justified the spirit of their supplication, by remarking, that the " prophet Esaias used such manner of speaking, and it was no doubt but that he was well acquainted in the Court ¹."

(1563.) Regal authority, indeed, had sunk to the lowest ebb in Scotland, at the period to which these observations apply. Of this fact, no stronger instance can be adduced, than the conduct of Knox in reference to a tumult which took place during the absence of Mary in a remote part of her kingdom. The preachers having sustained a sore disappointment in the lukewarmness of the lords, who had excited and encouraged their zeal in the earlier stages of the Reformation, gave vent to their feelings in the bitterest terms of reproach and anger. They indulged at once in the most furious invectives against the idolatry of the Romish worship, and in very melancholy anticipations with regard to her Majesty's sincerity in the promises which she had made to protect the new doctrines. The populace, inflamed by the vehement harangues which were constantly addressed to them from the pulpit, assembled in a riotous manner, attacked the royal chapel in Holyrood-house, interrupted the service, and filled with just alarm the persons who had repaired thither to join in it ².

Two of the individuals most active in this outrage were apprehended and committed to prison. Knox, who approved of their behaviour, represented them

¹ Keith, 506. Haynes's State Papers, vol. i. p. 372.

² Spotswood, 188. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 177. Knox, 335.

as martyrs condemned to suffer in a good cause ; and, with the view of protecting them from danger, he issued circular letters, requiring all who professed the true religion to convene at Edinburgh, on the day of trial, where by their presence they might comfort and assist their distressed brethren. The Privy Council, regarding this summons, addressed to the Queen's subjects without her knowledge, as an act of treason, resolved to prosecute him for so grave a crime against the state. But the noblemen before whom the reformer was arraigned, had themselves been frequently guilty of a similar offence, during the troubled times which had recently passed by ; nothing having been more common amongst them than to collect a multitude, armed or unarmed, whenever it was thought necessary to intimidate the government, or make an attack on the Church. The accused in his defence urged the precedents with which he was so amply supplied by the very persons to whom he directed his oration ; and was, as might have been anticipated, fully and honourably acquitted. He had only intended to wage war with the executive authority, and to control the exercise of justice ; and as these things were of daily occurrence in Scotland, they were hardly considered as amounting to a misdemeanour¹.

Meantime, the preachers, notwithstanding their success in spiritual matters, found themselves in circumstances little calculated to reward the many labours they had undergone in the cause of truth, or to solace them with better hopes for the future.

¹ Heylin, 178.

Their noble patrons, busy in appropriating all such lands and tithes as could be obtained by craft or violence from the dismayed priesthood of the falling establishment, left the ministers of the Reformation to provide as they might for their own pressing wants. The whole ecclesiastical revenue of the kingdom had been valued and divided into three portions, of which the actual incumbents, whatever might be their rank, were allowed to enjoy two during their lives, while the third was conveyed to the Crown, as the means at once of supporting the new religion, and of indemnifying the sovereign for the numerous endowments made by her predecessors in favour of the ancient hierarchy. This last share, devoted to objects so important, was very irregularly paid. The *thirds* due by the more powerful lords, especially such as had embraced the modern faith, were almost universally remitted. Others, by exhibiting fraudulent rentals, by estimating their agricultural produce at an under-value, and by employing the duplicity of collectors, greatly diminished the charge on their estates: and it has been remarked, that the nobles had much reason to be satisfied with a device, which, at so small an expense, secured to them such great advantages.

The indignation of the clergy was not a little increased by the indifference displayed on the part of the aristocracy in regard to the legal establishment of the reformed creed. On this point, the zeal of the General Assembly excited no corresponding emotion in the breasts of their titled friends. The Queen, who resolutely refused to give her sanction

to the Treaty of Edinburgh, as well as to the Accord or Concessions, which were in some measure appended to it, was equally reluctant to invest with the authority of law a body of religious teachers whom she found so utterly deficient in toleration and courtesy. To gratify their aversion to her own faith, she had consented to prosecute certain dignitaries for administering the sacrament, and even to punish the delinquents with a temporary confinement in private houses; but no arguments could induce her to elevate the Protestants to the dignity of a national Church, and to pronounce the Roman Catholics usurpers of God's inheritance. The councilors of Mary were unwilling to press her upon a matter so delicate, and on which, though her conduct was marked with moderation, her sentiments were known to be firm.

At a later period, the Assembly proceeded so far as to demand the suppression of the Popish religion, not only throughout the kingdom, but even in the Queen's own chapel; and besides the full establishment of the reformed faith, they required that she herself should publicly embrace it. Of the various articles presented to her Majesty, the first was expressed as follows: "that the papistical and blasphemous mass, with all papistical idolatry and papal jurisdiction, be universally suppressed and abolished throughout the realm, not only in the subjects, but also in the Queen's own person; with punishment against all persons that should be deprehended to transgress and offend in the same: and that the sincere word of God, and Christ's true religion, now at

this present received, be published, approved, and ratified, throughout the whole realm, as well in the Queen's own person, as in the subjects : and that the people be astricted to resort, upon the Sundays, at least, to the prayers and preaching of God's word, even as they were astricted before to the idolatrous mass : and these heads to be provided by act of Parliament, and ratified by the Queen's Majesty ¹."

As to the abolition of the mass, and the establishment of the Protestant worship, her Highness replied, that she was not yet persuaded of the truth of the one, nor that there was any impiety in the other ; and therefore hoped that her loving subjects would not press her to receive any religion against her conscience, which would prove to her a continual source of trouble and disquietude. She declared, at the same time, that she neither would nor might leave the religion wherein she had been nourished and brought up, believing the same to be well-grounded. " As to the establishing of religion in the body of the realm, they themselves know, as appears by their articles, that the same cannot be done only by consent of her Majesty, but requires necessarily the consent of the states in Parliament ; and therefore, so soon as the Parliament holds, those things which the states agree upon among themselves, her Majesty will consent unto the same ; and, in the meantime, shall make sure that no man be troubled for using religion according to his conscience ; so that no man shall have cause to doubt, that, for religion's

¹ Spotswood, p. 190. Keith, p. 541. Knox, p. 374. Crawford's Collections, vol. 1. p. 195. Heylin, 182.

sake, men's lives and heritage shall be in any hazard¹."

(1565.) There cannot be any difference of opinion as to the object contemplated by those who proposed such conditions to Mary as the ground of an adjustment of ecclesiastical affairs. It is, in fact, admitted by every candid historian, that the intention of the Earl of Murray and his party must have been to ensnare her; to compel her to refuse what she could not grant without injuring her conscience; and then to hold up this refusal as decided evidence of her enmity to the truth. "Nothing," says a late writer, "connected with his discontent and with the rebellion which he so soon commenced, reflects such disgrace upon his character as this measure, by which he confidently expected not only to strengthen his cause, but to ensure its ultimate success²."

But the fate of the unfortunate Queen of Scots was already sealed. Elizabeth, who had never ceased to bear towards her the most rancorous hatred, now combined with the discontented Protestants, and encouraged, though somewhat indirectly, an appeal to the sword. The correspondence between Randolph and Cecil, at this period, fully

¹ Knox, p. 374. The historian relates, that at the time the Assembly was holden in Edinburgh, "the brethren perceiving the Papists to brag, and trouble like to be, they assembled themselves at St. Leonard's craig, where they concluded they would defend themselves; and for the same purpose elected eight persons of the most able, two of every quarter, to see that the brethren should be ready armed." So closely were religion and insurrection united in those evil days!

² Cook, History of the Reformation in Scotland, vol. iii. p. 187.

establishes the suspicion, that Murray and his faction, under pretence of defending the reformed faith and the alliance with England, so necessary for preserving it, were preparing to involve the country in the horrors of war, that they might compel their sovereign, either to abjure her religion, or to invest him with the whole authority of the Crown. It is also placed beyond a doubt, not only that this traitorous plan was approved by the English Princess, but that she had actually given specific promises of support, and led the rebellious lords to confide in her as their assured ally.

The history of the Church, from the marriage of Mary with the Earl of Darnley, down to the establishment of the Reformation in 1567, presents very few particulars worthy of notice. Unfortunately for her peace, the political interests of the party opposed to her government and person were at no time separated from those of religion ; and hence, the stability of her throne was always held incompatible with the safety, the progress, and ultimate triumph, of the purer faith. Although she never took any step which could justify a rational suspicion that she meant to violate her promises to the lords of the congregation, her sincerity was often called in question by the more ardent supporters of the new doctrines. Acting under this impression, the preachers were ever ready to pronounce the most virulent slanders on her administration ; to attack her motives, even when her conduct was allowed to be praiseworthy ; and to conjure up phantoms of evil amid scenes of peace and benevolence. In a word,

her steady adherence to the religion in which she had been educated could never be forgiven ; and though she granted toleration to all others, she herself was deemed undeserving of the same privilege, because she was a sovereign and might, perhaps, change her policy.

(1567.) There is not a darker page in the history of Scotland, than that which narrates the conduct of the associated lords to their unfortunate Queen. Besides violating the most sacred promises by which she had been induced to surrender her person, they subjected her to the severest treatment, loaded her with studied insult and indignity, placed her in the hands of her worst enemies, and oppressed her imagination with the fears of a violent death, or of an imprisonment which was to end only with her life. She was conveyed during the night in disguise to the gloomy stronghold in which they intended to confine her ; “ and after a few days, being stripped out and spoyle of all her princely attirement, was clothed with a coarse brown cassock ¹. ”

It has been truly observed, that no regard for the public good could justify the melancholy issue of this rebellion, or even palliate the manner in which Mary was deprived of her liberty, and at length of her crown. Whatever might have been her secret intentions with respect to the political and religious freedom of her subjects, she made upon it, at this time, no direct attack ; she had even confirmed her former

¹ Keith, 404. And Leslie's Defence of Mary, as there quoted.

declarations in favour of the new establishment; and no individual had cause to complain that his property was invaded, or the security of his person endangered¹.

(July 25.) As the clergy took a decided part with the noblemen opposed to their sovereign, they were encouraged to expect the full accomplishment of all their wishes relative to the establishment of the reformed communion. Accordingly, the day after the Queen's resignation, they presented to the confederated lords the following articles, which immediately obtained their assent. 1. That the acts made in the Parliament held at Edinburgh, on the 24th of August, 1560, touching religion and the abolishing of the Pope's authority, should be extracted from the registers, and have the force of public laws; and that the said Parliament, in so far as it concerned religion, should be defended as a lawful Parliament, and be ratified in the first Parliament which should be held within the realm. 2. That till a final arrangement should be made for restoring the patrimony of the Church, the act of assignation of the thirds of benefices for the support of the ministry, should be put in execution. 3. That in the first lawful Parliament which should be held, or sooner, if an opportunity should occur, the Church of Christ within this kingdom should be put in possession of the patrimony of the Church. 4. That none should be permitted to hold situations in colleges, or to undertake the public or private instruction of youth, unless found qualified, and in all other respects ap-

¹ Cook's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 273.

proved by the Superintendents and visitors of the Church. 5. That all kings and princes, who shall at any time hereafter reign in Scotland, shall, before being crowned, solemnly swear, that they will maintain and preserve the true religion of Christ, presently professed within this kingdom. 6. That the nobility, barons, and others subscribing to these articles, shall faithfully promise to root out idolatry, especially the blasphemous mass, without exception of place or person, and also shall remove all idolaters and others not admitted to the preaching of the word, from bearing any function in the Church which may be a hindrance to the ministry in any way, and in their places appoint Superintendents, ministers, and other needful members of the Church.

(Dec. 15.) Soon after the accession of the Earl of Murray as Regent of the kingdom, a Parliament was held, in which this charter of the Scottish Reformation was confirmed. All the acts of the celebrated convention of 1560 were sanctioned by the states; the power of the Pope and the service of the mass were formally abolished; and at the same time, the Confession of Faith, as the standard of national belief, was duly ratified.

Every thing, indeed, was now adjusted to the satisfaction of the ministers, except the ecclesiastical funds. The Regent was not unfavourable to the claims of a body, to whom his interests, as a statesman, were under many obligations; but he had an opposition to dread still more formidable than that of the preachers, and he therefore resolved to bear for a time the reproaches of his spiritual allies, rather than encounter the fierce animosity of the nobles

who had enriched themselves at the expense of the clergy. He attempted, however to appease the solicitude of the latter, by securing for them the enjoyment of the whole "thirds," and the payment of all arrears; an expedient which was to continue in force, "until the church should come to the full possession of their proper patrimony, which is the tiends."

Perhaps the Congregation would not have considered their establishment complete, had not the executive government been bound by an oath "to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God, who should be convicted by the true Church." This obligation was solemnly imposed on the Regent as one of the conditions on which he received authority to administer the laws; a circumstance which proves but too convincingly, that though the form of religion was entirely changed, the intolerant spirit, so worthy of condemnation in its ancient professors, had not yet given place to one either more liberal or more enlightened ¹.

¹ Keith, p. 453. Buchanan, p. 366. And Dr. Cook, vol. iii. p. 298; who makes some judicious observations on the character of the Regent, and on the spirit with which he assumed the government.

CHAPTER VII.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE CONSTITUTION, DOCTRINE,
AND WORSHIP, ESTABLISHED BY THE REFORMATION
IN SCOTLAND.

Antiquity of former establishment—Influence and benefits of the clerical institution—Corruptions of various kinds—Reformation necessary—Violence of Knox and his adherents—Moderation of laity—Letter from Archbishop of St. Andrew's—Motives of the Romanists attacked—Conduct of the Reformers towards Queen Mary—Her interview with Knox—His uncharitable opinions—Reformation in Scotland closely connected with rebellion—Muncer in Germany—Weakness of Scottish government—Military character of preachers—Knox's proposal to Sir James Croft—Assistance from England necessary to the northern reformers—Mixture of political motives—The new ecclesiastical constitution—Its anomalous aspect—Reformers retain the power of forgiving sins—Pretensions in infallibility—The gift of prophecy—These borrowed from the Romish priesthood—Case of Peto and Henry VIII.—The doctrines of the Reformers resembling those of the Papal Church—The Eucharist—Baptism—The intermediate state between death and the resurrection—Abstain from dogmatism on the abstruser points of theology—Worship—Forms of Prayer—Psalm-singing derived from France and Geneva—Extemporaneous prayer frequently practised by the more gifted ministers—The inconsistencies of the human mind displayed in Reformation—Seeds of liberty sown—Great advantages of the Reformation.

HAVING witnessed the downfall of the ancient establishment of Scotland, the reader will not be indis-

posed to take a brief review of the causes which led to that event, of the instruments which were employed, of the motives which called them into action, and of the general result in which they terminated.

The ecclesiastical constitution which was brought to a close in the reign of Mary, had existed, under slight modifications, more than a thousand years; proving, during the greater part of that long period, the means of promoting civilization, and of establishing the principles of humanity among all classes of the people. It has been already remarked, that the intercourse which the clergy maintained with foreign nations, and more especially with Italy and France, opened a path for the introduction of the learning, the arts, and the polish, which were never allowed to become extinct in those more favoured parts of Europe. Availing themselves of their superior knowledge, and of the authority with which they were clothed, as ministers of religion, they checked the ferocity of the rude barons, softened their manners, and very often wrested from their hands the weapons they were wont to use against one another in the field, or for the purpose of private massacre. The priesthood set the first example, too, of mitigating domestic slavery, that curse and disgrace of the middle ages; having emancipated all the bondmen belonging to their estates, before the lay-proprietors could be taught either the advantage or the obligation of extending freedom to the labourers who ploughed their fields and gathered in their crops.

The clergy, moreover, provided with a liberal hand for the necessities of the poor, the orphan, the widow, and the infirm; and the extent of their

benefactions was only made manifest by the magnitude of the sufferings which met the eye of the government after the monasteries were suppressed. They also supported schools and founded colleges. The magnificence of their edifices, dedicated to learning and piety, attracts admiration even at the present day. The cathedrals, the chapels, the universities, and even the first public roads and bridges were due to the patriotism of the prelatical orders ; who, if they did possess an undue share of wealth, applied it assuredly with much more wisdom than the lay dignitaries, by whom they were succeeded ; to most of whom riches appeared only as the means of riotous living, indiscriminate profusion, or of carrying on mutual hostilities¹.

Through the medium of the same body, so often made the object of calumny and reproach, have descended to modern times the knowledge of Divine truths, and also the spiritual authority by which the more sacred offices of religion are administered. On this account, the Roman Catholics hold, in respect to the reformed Church, a position somewhat similar to

¹ Guizot, speaking of the burdens which pressed on society during the middle ages, says, " Ils pesoient horriblement sur les peuples. Le clergé seul essayait de réclamer, en faveur de tous, un peu de raison, de justice, d'humanité. Quiconque ne tenait pas une place dans la hiérarchie féodale n'avait que les Eglises pour asile et les prêtres pour protecteurs. Bien insuffisante, cette protection était immense pourtant, car elle était seule. Les prêtres d'ailleurs offraient seuls quelque aliment à la nature morale de l'homme, à ce besoin de penser, de savoir, d'espérer, et de croire, besoin invincible qui surmonte tous les obstacles et survit à tous malheurs." *Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre*, tom. i. pp. viii. ix. Preface.

that which was occupied by the Jews in reference to the early christians. The leading articles of faith, as well as the warrant on which these are established, were transmitted through a channel which, though occasionally polluted by the adhesion of grosser matter, conveyed entire the doctrines and ritual of the purest ages.

But it cannot be concealed, even by the most ardent friend of the ancient communion, that prior to the Reformation, corruption had sunk deeply into many of its institutions. Doctrine, worship, and discipline, were tainted with error, or rendered unavailing by neglect. In a word, that certain changes had become necessary was admitted by many of the clergy themselves; who bewailed at once the general departure from primitive strictness, and the great increase of ceremonial observances, of which the object was not closely connected either with virtue or godliness.

No candid reader, however, will receive without suspicion the character of a political or religious body, which rests not on a better ground than the representations of their successful opponents. It is well known that, amid the strife of hostile parties, nothing is more common than to attempt the justification of an injury by heaping reproach upon the heads of those who have suffered it; and, in this way, a double unhappiness has always been reserved for such as survive the ruin of the cause in which their fortunes and good names were embarked. No reputation is less safe than that of him who is oppressed by a faction which afterwards becomes dominant. For these reasons we ought not to admit,

without considerable qualifications, the statements of the more violent Protestant authors, when they attack the morals or conduct of the Romish priesthood; nor allow ourselves to believe, that all the learning and religious zeal of the sixteenth century were to be found on the side of those who separated themselves from the old establishment.

But there cannot be any breach of candour in drawing from facts, acknowledged on both sides, the conclusions to which they naturally lead: and it will not be denied that the Church of Rome, by endeavouring to enforce a species of self-denial, nowhere enjoined in Scripture, fell into great practical irregularities, at which she found herself compelled to connive. The violation of any institute which is itself opposed to the laws of Nature, is never accounted very flagrant; a fact which, as well as others which might be assigned, explains in some measure the tenderness shown by the ecclesiastical tribunals towards such of the clerical order as failed to observe all the restrictions imposed by the law of celibacy¹.

¹ The curious reader will find, in Keith's History, page xiv., "the counsell given by the Deyne and Chaptour of Aberdeine to my Lord Bishope of Aberdeine, the ordinar, at his Lordschipis desyre, for reformation to be maid and stanching of heresies pullelant within the diocie.

"*Imprimis*, That my lord of Aberdeine cause the kirkmen within his lordschipis diocie to reform themselves in all their slanderus maner of living, and to remove their opin concubines, as well grete as small, under such pains as is contained in the law and Acts provinciall."

After certain regulations as to preaching, non-residence, and the maintenance of churches, the Dean and Chapter add; "and

Every lover of truth and piety will therefore feel grateful to those resolute men who hazarded their lives in the attack upon this stronghold of error and corruption. It is perhaps to be regretted, that they had determined to view the ecclesiastical edifice against which they directed their assault, not as a structure which, after being purified and repaired, might be usefully applied for the accomplishment of the great object that it was originally meant to serve; but as one, of which the defects or excrescences were so numerous, that it must be entirely demolished and removed, to make way for another founded on a

that the Premessis by the helpe of God may take the better effect, they humblie and hartilie pray and exhort my lord, their ordinar, for relief of his own conscience, and wiel of his lordscipis diocie, eviting of greater slander; and because all they that are contrarious to the religioun Christiane promise faythful obedience to the Prelates, so that they will mend their own lives and their inferiors conforme to the law of God and holy kirk; in respect hereof, that his lordscip will be so good as to shew good and edificative example, in especiall, in removing and discharging himself of the cumpany of the gentlewoman by whom he is gretelie slandered; without the whilk be done, divers that are pertinax say they cannot accept counsail and correctioun of him who will not correct himself."

This "Counsall" is signed by ten clergymen, among whose names appears that of Joannes Leslie, the celebrated bishop of Ross.

Nor were such exhortations confined to the diocese of Aberdeen. In the charter of foundation granted to a chapel at Leith, dedicated to St. Ninian, it is said, "if either of the aforesaid chaplains keep a lass or concubine, in an open and notorious manner, he shall be degraded; which," observes the historian, "seems to imply, that either of them might keep a Miss, provided it were not publicly known." Maitland's History of Edinburgh, page 497.

basis altogether different. Ignorant or regardless of the primitive plan, some of the more zealous resolved to erect a fabric on principles which, if not quite original, had very little resemblance to those recognized in the early ages; and it might, indeed, be presumed from the course they pursued, that the rule by which they chose to be guided in the various steps of their procedure, was to avoid the most distant approach to imitation. "The reformed," as Strype remarks, "went generally on the ground that, in order to the complete freeing of the Church of Christ from the errors and corruptions of Rome, every usage and custom practised by that apostate and idolatrous church should be abolished¹."

Actuated by such views, the followers of Knox waged war with the Roman Catholics, not as christians, but rather as being, in belief and practice, the most dangerous and insidious enemies to the faith of the Gospel. Denouncing their most solemn service as rank idolatry, he himself was at all times disposed to employ against them the same kind of weapons which the ancient Hebrews were commanded to use for the extirpation of the Canaanites; appealing constantly to the warrant placed in the hands of Moses and of his successor, or to the injunctions entrusted to the kings of Israel, when the rites of the heathen had interfered with the worship of Jehovah.

The laity, however, were not disposed to keep pace with the zeal which burned in the breasts of the reformed ministers; and it is accordingly gratifying to observe that, intolerant as were the principles of

¹ Life of Grindal, p. 28.

the latter body, their memory is not stained with any actual bloodshed proceeding immediately from their hands. The political faction, who connived at the intemperance of the new clergy, from which they occasionally derived no small advantage, could impose an effectual restraint on their anger as well as their ambition ; preventing thereby any very tragical display of that miserable bigotry which appears inseparable from an ardent attachment to rival sects in religion. The pulpits, meanwhile, sent forth the most eager remonstrances on the slackness displayed by the secular arm ; recommending a speedy and impartial execution of the sanguinary statute which the Parliament had been induced to sanction.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews, in a letter to his brother prelate in the see of Glasgow, at that time resident in France, informs him that the preachers openly, in the church, persuade the nobility to lay violent hands on the Roman clergy, and put all to death who will not adopt their opinions ; “ and they reproach, in the same public manner, the lord Duke, because he will not begin first, and compel me to do as they do, or else to use rigour on me by slaughter, the sword, or at least by perpetual prison: And in time, if they be permitted, no man may have life without granting their articles ; which I will not ; therefore provide remeed.”

Hence, it is clear, that abstinence from the axe and the faggot must be attributed to the moderation or indifference of the ruling party in the state, rather than to the gentle spirit of Christian charity in the hearts of the reformers. Their preaching, as well as their legislation breathed too freely of that domineer-

ing and hostile temper which they had so justly condemned in the Popish hierarchy. Their actions also, in certain instances, bore a very striking resemblance to those which had disgraced the prelacy of the older communion. For example, it is recorded, that Lord Dalhousie was thrown into prison at St. Andrews, because he had given food to three or four poor friars who had sought an asylum in his residence. It is added, that the Lord James and the Earl of Arran searched the house for them, but found them not; they, however, gratified their revenge, by burning all the books, and destroying all the instruments of the prohibited worship that fell into their hands¹.

There was a species of persecution to which the Roman Catholics were exposed which, though not so formidable as the scaffold or the flaming pile, was nevertheless extremely galling to every sensitive and honest mind. It was constantly asserted by Knox and his brethren, that belief in certain doctrines maintained by that class of Christians could not be sincere, but that such tenets must be cherished by them, from sheer obstinacy, or the most determined and wilful blindness. The same uncharitable insinuation was even introduced into their addresses to the Supreme Being. In praying for his sovereign, as has been already observed, the Reformer entreated the Almighty "to turn her heart, which was obstinate, against God and his truth;" or, if the holy will were otherwise, that He would arm his people with resolu-

¹ Keith, p. 488, and note. "They burnt all the buicks and mass claiths that was in the place."

tion, and supply them with means, in order to punish such transgressors ¹."

Every Papist was pronounced an infidel, and described as being inevitably led, by the very principles which he professed, to commit or encourage every species of guilt. It was for this reason, as well, perhaps, as to mortify the adherents of the proscribed faith, that, in the numerous proclamations which were issued for the suppression of vice, Popery was uniformly associated with adultery, murder, witchcraft, and blasphemy ¹.

¹ As an instance of the description of calumny now alluded to, we copy a proclamation issued by the Town Council of Edinburgh, on the 2d October, 1561; only using the freedom to modernise the spelling, "The which day, the Provost, Bailies, Council, and whole Deacons, perceiving the priests, monks, friars, and others of the wicked rabble of the Antichrist the Pope, to resort to this town, in contravention of the tenor of the proclamation made to the contrary; therefore ordain the said proclamation to be proclaimed anew, charging all monks, friars, priests, nuns, adulterers, fornicators, and all such filthy persons to remove themselves from this town, and bounds thereof, within twenty-four hours, under the pain of carting through the town, burning on the cheek, and banishing the same for ever." Keith, p. 192.

In the original proclamation there are joined with the priests and nuns "others of the ungodly seeds and opinions, as also all mass-sayers and mass-maintainers, whoremongers, adulterers," &c. evidently glancing at the Queen herself as one who *maintained* the mass. Her Majesty, by an order in Council, condemned the civic proclamation, and gave orders that the town should be open to all her subjects without distinction of faith. "And so," says Knox, "murderers, adulterers, thieves, whores, drunkards, idolaters, and all malefactors, got protection under the Queen's wings, under colour that they were of her religion. And so got the Devil freedom again, whereas before he durst not

When, for example, Queen Mary was required to sacrifice to the wishes of her subjects the slight indulgence hitherto conceded to her Majesty, within the limits of the royal household, and to abjure for ever the rites of her native Church, she was plainly told, that her religion was not only offensive to Protestants, but that it was moreover positively impious in itself, and therefore hateful in the eyes of the Supreme Being. She replied, as has been already stated, that she was not yet in any measure persuaded either of the truth of the Protestant tenets, or of the impiety alleged against the ritual of the mass; and therefore hoped, that her loving people would not press her to receive a religion of which her conscience could not approve, and which, in such circumstances, could not but occasion the most painful remorse and never-ending disquietude. She concluded, by entreating her subjects, who, from experience, must be

have been seen in day-light upon the common streets." Knox, p. 29.

A modern compiler admires so much this wholesome severity exercised upon Roman Catholics, that he regrets the milder laws which exempt theological errors from bodily punishment. "When it is considered that the statute was levelled against an error and practice which all true Protestants account damnable to the souls of those who are infected with such idolatry, it was certainly an act most necessary for those early times; and we do not see why it may not be executed to its full extent upon obstinate idolaters at the present day." Stevenson's *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 107.

Mr. Stevenson wrote about the middle of the last century, a period when as yet the spirit of liberality had not penetrated into Scotland. Penal laws were loudly demanded for the support of the Church and State, and, generally speaking, were grateful to the people.

satisfied that she would never compel the assent of any one to disputed points in religion, but permit all of them to worship God in the manner they might think the best, to grant to her a similar privilege, and not urge her to give offence to her own conscience ¹.

The Kirk, in their answer, express deep regret, that considering the trumpet of Christ's Evangel had been so long blown in the country, her Majesty was still unpersuaded of the truth of their religion, which, they assure her, "is nothing else but the same which the Redeemer had, in the last days, revealed from the bosom of his Father, and which differs greatly from the impiety of the Turks, the blasphemy of the Jews, and the vain superstition of the Papists." They then offer to supply suitable instruction to their sovereign, either by preaching or by public disputation. "And," they subjoin, "as to the impiety of the mass, we dare be bold to affirm that, in that idol there is great impiety; from the beginning to the ending it is nothing else but a mass of impiety; the author or sayer, the action itself, the opinion thereof conceived, the hearers and gazers upon it, allow sacrilege, pronounce blasphemy, and commit most abominable idolatry ²."

This passionate ardour on the part of the reformed is ascribed by Knox to the Spirit of God and of Wisdom, operating in the hearts of the faithful, who, he assures his readers, were of one mind in maintaining the truths of the Gospel and in suppressing idolatry; and, therefore, says he, "the Devil work-

¹ Keith, p. 549.

² Keith, p. 551.

ing in the Queen and the Papists, could not do what he would ¹."

On no occasion, indeed, does he omit to couple the Church of Rome with the Prince of Darkness. For example, alluding to the temporary distribution of the ecclesiastical revenue made in the reign of Mary, he remarks, that "two parts were fairly given to the Devil, and the third part divided between God and the Devil." As the former portion was appropriated to the Popish clergy, and the latter to the maintenance of the kirk and the royal household, the meaning of the author must have been apparent even to

¹ Knox, pp. 326, 327. As an instance of the rough treatment inflicted on the Roman Catholics, may be cited the case of Carvet, a priest, who had dared to solemnize mass. "At which time (we quote from Knox's *Historie*), because it was near Easter, the Papists used to meet at their mass. And as some of the Brethren were diligent to search such things, they having with them one of the bailiffs, took one Sir James Carvet, riding hard, as he had now ended the saying of the mass, and conveyed him, together with the master of the house, and one or two more of the assistants, to the tolbooth (prison), and immediately re-invested him with all his garments, and so carried him to the market-cross, where they set him on high, binding the chalice in his hand, and himself tied fast to the same cross, where he tarried the space of an hour, during which time the boys served him with his Easter eggs. The next day, the said Carvet, with his assistants, were accused and convicted by an Assize, according to the Act of Parliament. And albeit for the same offence he deserved death, yet for all punishment he was set upon the market-cross for the space of three or four hours, the hangman standing by and keeping him; the boys and others were busy with eggs casting, and some Papists there were that stopped as far as they could."

the least reflecting. In one of his discourses, too, he informed his audience, that "if the Queen did not agree with them in God, they were not bound to agree with her in the Devil."

But though Knox may be justly charged with a coarse and savage bigotry, as well as with a degree of intolerance which at once amazes and disgusts, his character was, upon the whole, free from that pusillanimous duplicity which so often leads men, when placed in the face of danger, to conceal their real sentiments, and to suppress their most virtuous emotions. He had not, indeed, much to apprehend from the weak government which he thought it his duty to oppose and condemn; still, if any confidence can be reposed in the accuracy of the work which bears his name, it is manifest that his language was not more restrained when he addressed his sovereign in private than when he spoke of her in public. In both cases he allowed himself to make use of terms so extremely offensive, as to defy every other apology but that which is furnished by a consideration of the rude unpolished age in which his lot was cast¹.

¹ In allusion to the Parliament held in 1563, which was opened by Mary in person, Knox writes as follows: "Such stinking pride of women as was seen at that Parliament was never before seen in Scotland! Three sundry days the Queen rode to the Tolbooth. The first day she made a painted oration; and there might have been heard among her flatterers, *vox Dianæ, the voice of a goddess* (for it could not be *Dei*, of a god) and not of a woman! God save that sweet face. Was there ever orator spake so properly and so sweetly, &c. All things misliked the preachers: they spake boldly against the targeting of their tails, and against the rest of their vanity; which they affirmed would provoke God's vengeance, not only against those

In reviewing the history of the Reformation in Scotland, it is impossible not to enumerate among the unfavourable circumstances which attended it, the remarkable fact that, being conducted from its commencement to its completion in opposition to the civil authority, it bore throughout the semblance of rebellion, and even of treason. But in this respect the covenanters of Scotland were not singular. Nay, it will be found that, in nearly all the steps which marked their progress, from the point where they solicited no more than simple permission to worship God in their own way, till they arrived at the possession of so much power as enabled them to dictate to the consciences of others, they only followed examples which were then recent in other countries. An appeal to arms in defence of evangelical truth was not any where deemed unlawful in those days; and most of the continental nations, accordingly, witnessed a struggle between Popish rulers and such of their subjects as were desirous to throw off the Roman yoke. The conduct of Muncer, a German enthusiast, presents in some points of view a striking similarity to the procedure adopted in certain counties of North Britain. A determined Protestant, and convinced that Luther had not advanced to a sufficient extent in correcting the errors of the ecclesiastical body, he resolved to call in the aid of the multitude, in order to complete the good work which the other had

foolish women, but against the whole realm; and especially against those who maintained them in that odious abusing of things which might have been better bestowed." *Historie*, p. 330.

begun. For this purpose he instituted an Association or Covenant, the members of which bound themselves by a solemn oath, that they would assist in destroying all wicked princes and magistrates, and in putting the reins of authority into the hands of such individuals only as could exhibit the marks of Divine election. Pretending a supernatural commission, he directed the first manifestation of his zeal against the monks, by expelling them from their convents, and seizing their property ; teaching that all things were thenceforth to be determined by the rules supplied in the Bible, or by the more secret revelations which the Almighty was at that time pleased to make to his chosen servants. Forty thousand peasants soon flocked to his standard, eager to take a share in the pious labour of the covenant, and to carry devastation, robbery, and alarm into every part of Suabia and Franconia. But the civil power was still sufficiently strong to vindicate its own rights, and to protect the houses and estates of the better orders of the community. The Elector of Saxony, with his allies the Landgrave of Hesse and the Duke of Brunswick, went out at the head of fifteen hundred cavalry, put the boors to flight, and punished with death their fanatical leader¹.

In Scotland, during the more active period of the Reformation, the functions of government were almost entirely suspended ; and hence the comparatively bloodless triumph which crowned the exertions of the

¹ Sleidan's History of the Reformation of the Church, pp. 83—86.

Congregation, though on both sides there were considerable armies on foot. The contested nature of the struggle was, therefore, more to be deplored, on account of the ungenerous spirit to which it gave birth, than for the actual loss of life sustained in the field. Each party was so exasperated against the other that no degree of injustice, as to character and motive, was considered as violating the terms of their unhappy warfare. The repeated attacks made by Knox on the principles and reputation of Queen Mary and her mother, the Regent, are not less remarkable for their fury than their falsehood. These accomplished ladies who, for the sake of peace, had sacrificed every thing but their personal religion, were not allowed to enjoy it. They were pursued by menaces and imprecations, denounced as accomplices of Satan, as enemies of the Gospel, and as guilty of such impieties as merited the severest pains of law. The strictures of that reformer cannot be read at the present day without shame and indignation. Directed against a helpless female, who showed a becoming earnestness to be taught, or, at least, a willingness to listen with candour to whatever arguments might be brought against her faith, they were altogether without excuse. "She is patient to hear and beareth much," said Throckmorton, in a letter to Cecil; and, to purchase the forbearance of her theological assailants, she prohibited the public celebration of the Catholic rites, and even imprisoned some of the principal clergy; a step, says Bishop Leslie, which at once accelerated the downfall of the Roman hierarchy, and paved the way for those

dissensions that troubled the closing years of her reign¹.

¹ As a contrast to the unfavourable picture given by Knox of the ill-fated Mary, whom he represents as being destitute of honesty, knowledge, and all religious principle, the reader is presented with an extract from an old work, entitled the "Historie of King James the Sext," describing certain proceedings which took place when the Queen thought herself on the eve of death. After relating that she was seized with a burning fever which threw her into delirium part of a day, the writer adds, "But thereafter she convalesced a little, and finding her body oppressed with sickness tending to the death (as she thought) she caused send advertisement to all the kirks next adjacent to pray for her: And in the meantime was resolute to render her spirit to God, and gave charge that her body should be buried among the rest of her predecessors. She desired God of his mercy to pardon her sins, to grant her a penitent and contrite heart for her offences, and that he would deal with her in mercy in respect of her weakness, and remit a little of his judgment, although she had deserved the same as a miserable offender: and thanked his Majestie, who gave her such a large time for repentance, praying effectuously to grant her constancy and perseverance in the Catholic, undoubted, true faith and religion; until the end whereof, she, in presence of nobles and gentlemen there convened, made confession, saying in Latin, *Credo*, &c. Secondly, she recommended unto them unity of mind, peace, and quietness; for by discord all things are dissolved, and by concord they remain whole and together. She recommended unto them the protection of her young son the prince; that he should be brought up in the fear of God, in honest and honourable society and perfection of manners, and to preserve him from people of corrupt manners, who might seduce him from his duty to God or the world; to the end he might live as a godly and righteous prince over his people. She forgave all those that had offended her, and chiefly those ingrate persons which she had promoted to high honour, and in particular her own husband King Henry, as also the banished gentlemen, who had highly grieved her: Requiring that, in case they should be

Another peculiarity arising from the circumstances in which true religion was resuscitated on the northern side of the Tweed, is the martial character assumed by the leading preachers throughout the whole of the contest. Knox boasts that he was with the army on the most trying occasions, and ministered to its courage, when hearts which ought to have shown greater boldness were found to quail. He delighted to be considered as the "trumpet of God's Evangel"; and the notes which he sounded usually indicated an onward movement. Nor does he deny that he acted an essential part in those insurrectionary demonstrations which so frequently alarmed and paralysed the government. "In the most extreme dangers I have been with you; Saint Johnstown, Cowper-muir, and the *craggs of Edinburgh*, are still recent in my heart." His voice at all times easily commanded the multitude whenever he gave the signal for demolition and plunder; and it was only when he attempted to recall his hounds from the chase, that he felt his skill or his influence unequal to the task. Like others who employ the populace to intimidate or subdue, he occasionally discovered that the impulse he communicated could not be restrained; and he was, perhaps, compelled from time to time to witness acts of havoc and outrage which he would willingly have prevented. The inhabitants of the capital, for instance, entreated

brought into the realm after her decease, they should at least be debarred from access to the young prince; and that they would procure some ease in conscience to those that do profess the Catholic faith, because during her regimen she constrained none of her subjects to exercise in religion, otherwise than their consciences dictated to them." pp. 3—5.

that their churches might be spared for divine worship, and the religious houses for seminaries of education ; but, as the infection of Popish idolatry adhered to all such edifices, and more especially to the latter, the most of them were speedily levelled with the ground¹

It was hardly possible that a Christian minister could pass through such a scene, without having his reputation tainted, and his mind unduly estranged. Acting as secretary in a treasonable correspondence with the English government, he necessarily sacrificed the allegiance of a subject to the interests of a faction ; and although the object which he was labouring to realize, could not fail to appear in his eyes of the very greatest magnitude, he was nevertheless placed in that unhappy position, which seemed to justify the doing of evil in the hope that good might come. As an example of this, it is only necessary to refer to the letters addressed by him, under a feigned name, to Sir James Crofts, who commanded at Berwick, soliciting a reinforcement of troops to aid the Congregation against the Queen Regent. A treaty had just been concluded between France and England, which comprehended the Scots ; whence arose a manifest obstacle to the armed interference of Elizabeth, in favour of the rebels. The reformer stated to Sir James, that they had attempted to raise men by proclamation and beat of drum, but that, partly from lack of money, and partly from want of ardour in the cause, they had not succeeded in collecting any considerable number. For these reasons

¹ Maitland's History of Edinburgh, p. 16.

he entreated that money and soldiers should be sent to Edinburgh without delay. Aware, however, that the relation subsisting between the French and English might prove a bar to compliance with the request which he so earnestly urged, he reminds Crofts that, though the two nations were outwardly at peace, they were at war in heart, and only waited opportunity to seize the first advantage. "If ye list to craft with them, the sending of a thousand or more men to us can break no league nor point of peace contracted between you and France: for it is free for your subjects to serve in war any prince or nation for their wages. And if ye fear that such excuses will not prevail, *you may declare them rebels to your realm, when ye shall be assured that they be in our company*¹."

Sir James, in his reply, expressed much surprise at this strange request; which, as he said, could not be granted, without making his countrymen show themselves to be enemies where they were bound to be friends. "For as to your devices how to colour our doings in that part, you must think that the world is not so blind but that it will soon espy the same; and surely we cannot *bona fronte* so colour and excuse the matter but that it will be expounded to be a plain breach of our league and treaty, whereby the honour of the prince cannot be a little touched. Wherefore, I pray you, require of us what we may do with honour and safety, and you shall not find us unwilling thereto."

Knox, although he evidently felt the reprimand

¹ Keith, Appendix, p. 40—43.

administered by his military correspondent, did not consent to relinquish either the principle which he had advanced, or the purpose it was meant to serve. "Whether it may stand with wisdom," says he, in his next letter, "to have such respect to that which some men call *honour*, that, in the meantime, I may see my friend perish, both to his destruction and mine, I refer to the judgment of the most honourable"—"If you understood the danger as I do, love would compel you sometimes to exceed the bounds of your commission, if you can find no means secretly to convey such liberality as friends with you are pleased to bestow upon such as cannot otherwise serve."—"In a few words, Sir, if you join not with us in open assistance, we shall both repent when the remedy will be more difficult¹."

Being in arms against their sovereign, and acting in defiance of law, every advantage gained by the reformers must have been considered by the more impartial, as a victory achieved over the constitution of their country; and it would appear that, the moment they began to fight for an ascendancy which allowed no toleration, they lost the sympathy of all true patriots.

¹ The name under which Knox chose to veil what he calls his "unseasonable request," was John Sinclair. Dr. Cook remarks, that "he endeavoured to enforce it (his application for men and money) by a mode of reasoning, showing too plainly how much attachment to party may warp the soundest understanding, and lead it to approve maxims which, had it been unbiassed, it would have rejected with abhorrence." The letter to Crofts, he adds, "certainly does not exhibit, in the most favourable point of view, the candour and unflexible uprightness of that great reformer." Vol. ii. pp. 237. 239.

The people at large, finding that there was no longer any obstacle to their worship, agreeably to the purer system of belief to which they had recently attained, became very generally indifferent as to the issue of the contest; and it is accordingly admitted by Knox that, unless assistance were procured from England, in money, men, and warlike stores, the royalists could hardly fail to attain an ultimate triumph.

Nor can it be denied that the interests of religion formed but a small part in the inducement which carried the more enlightened and reflecting of the Scots into the field against their Queen. The seeds of civil liberty had taken a deep root throughout a large portion of Europe; and the errors or abuses of the ecclesiastical estate presented the most ready and popular arena, in which the battles of freedom might be fought. The Low Countries afforded a similar example. The revolt there was likewise begun by a petition relative to matters of faith; and the same remark will apply to nearly all the European states, at that period, of which the political institutions underwent any change. The first grievances felt or bewailed were uniformly those which affected the rights of conscience: and the lovers of sacred truth, accordingly, were every where seen taking their places in the first rank, as soon as war was waged with despotism or superstition. In such circumstances, though it may be regretted that ministers of the Gospel should have so frequently appeared as insurgents, and occupied the most prominent stations in the camp as well as in the council, some allowance must be made for the difficulty of separating the objects which the two classes of reformers professed to have

in view ; the political improvement and the religious liberty of whole nations. A French historian remarks, that the Scottish preachers might boast of having excited the nation to rebellion, supported the civil war, dethroned a queen, and dictated to their king down to the very day, when mounting a foreign throne, he escaped from their domination¹.

At this stage of our retrospect, it cannot be uninteresting to the reader to learn in what position the Church of Scotland was placed, in regard to Constitution, Doctrine, and Worship, by the first Parliament of James VI., which, as is well known, confirmed the resolutions of that which met at Edinburgh in the year 1560.

In respect to structure, it bore a faint resemblance to the ancient pattern, inasmuch as it acknowledged a gradation in the order of its ministers, and even sanctioned a species of prelatical authority in the Superintendents. But this likeness, confined to the external form, cannot be traced in the more essential requisites of a regular commission and spiritual power. Influenced by the loose notions to which the Reformation, in the first instance, gave rise in most parts of Europe, the leaders of the ecclesiastical

¹ Castelnau, in his *Memoirs*, admits that the Scots declared war with the Queen Regent, rather from a desire of vindicating their civil liberties, than from any motive of religion, p. 446. Robertson's *History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 201.

“ Les predicateurs Ecosais pouvaient se vanter d'avoir soulevé la nation, soutenu la guerre civile, détrône une Reine, et dominé leur roi jusqu'au jour où, en montant sur un trône étranger, il avoit chappé à leur empire.” *Guizot. Histoire de la Revolution d'Angleterre*, tome i. p. 123.

body in Scotland did not think it necessary that even the chief governors of their Church should be in holy orders ; while, with an air of inconsistency, which strongly marks the unsettled state of opinion then prevalent on this important subject, these functionaries were made amenable to the judgment of the clergy, whose conduct they were appointed to inspect and control.

In fact, during more than thirty years, immediately subsequent to the first triumph of the Reformation, the Church in the northern division of the island exhibited a very anomalous aspect ; having, at one time, bishops without consecration ; pastors who had never been ordained to any spiritual office ; and the semblance of government by presbyters without the formation of any court in which their authority could be properly recognized. No party, acknowledging the simplest principles of ecclesiastical polity, can look back to that epoch with satisfaction, or find in it the model which they would now consent to adopt. Viewed as an imitation of episcopacy, it was defective in the extreme ; while, on the other hand, the distinctions of rank in the clergy presented a feature which cannot but be considered as quite inconsistent with that more complete system of parity which was afterwards introduced.

There is not, perhaps, in the history of that troubled period any circumstance more remarkable than the resolution, avowed by some of the principal reformers, to undermine the foundation on which the ancient priesthood was established, by treating with the most marked contempt the claim of spiritual power in that order of men, coupled with the fact

that they themselves assumed, in their own persons, the most startling of all the prerogatives exercised by the papal church. For example, no tenet gave greater offence, or yielded a more convenient topic for popular declamation against the Romish clergy, than the power of absolving penitents from the punishment due to their sins; and yet this official attribute was claimed by the preachers, although some of them, being laymen, could not pretend to have been elevated by any outward or ordinary means, to the ghostly supremacy which had excited their ambition. Addressing the nobility, who continued attached to the Queen Regent, they tell them, "that as they are reputed already traitors by God, they shall likewise be excommunicated from their society, and from the participation of the sacraments of the Church, which God by his mighty power hath erected among them; whose Ministers have the same power which Christ Jesus granted to his apostles in these words, *whose sins ye shall forgive, shall be forgiven, and whose sins ye shall retain, shall be retained* ¹."

The reader may not be displeased to see the forms of excommunication and absolution used in the days of Knox. After mentioning the transgression of the individual about to be cut off, the officiating minister says, "And this his sin (albeit with sorrow of our hearts) by virtue of our ministry, we bind, and pronounce the same to be bound, in heaven and earth. We farther give over into the hands and power of the Devil, the said —, to the destruction of his

¹ Keith, p. 87.

flesh: strictly charging all that profess the Lord Jesus, to whose knowledge this our sentence shall come, to repute and hold the said —, accursed and unworthy of the familiar society of Christians; declaring unto all men that such as hereafter (before his repentance) shall haunt or familiarly accompany him, are partakers of his impiety, and subject to the like condemnation. This our sentence, O Lord Jesus, pronounced in thy name and at thy commandment, we humbly beseech thee to ratify even according to thy promise."

When an excommunicated person had expressed sorrow for his fault, and done due penance several Sundays at the church door, he was absolved in the following words:—

"In the name and authority of Jesus Christ, I, the minister of the blessed Evangel, with consent of the whole ministry and church, absolve thee — from the sentence of excommunication, from the sin by thee committed, and from all censures laid against thee for the same heretofore, according to thy repentance; and pronounce thy sin to be loosed in heaven, and thee to be received again to the society of Jesus Christ, to his body the Church, to the participation of his sacraments, and, finally, to the fruition of all his benefits, in the name of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. So be it¹."

There may also be detected in the language of the same pious individuals an approach to the doctrine of infallibility, claimed, as well for themselves individually, as for the religious body to which they

¹ Collier, vol. ii. p. 559.

belonged. In a conference which Knox held with Queen Mary, he learned from her, that a person whom the reformers were desirous to elect a Superintendent was not of a good character. "If you knew him as well as I do," said she, "you would never promote him to that office, nor to any other within your Kirk."—"What he has been, Madam," replied he, "I neither know, nor yet will I inquire; for, in time of darkness, what could we do but grope and go wrong, even as darkness carried us? But, if he fear not God now, he deceives many more than me; and yet," said he, "*Madam, I am assured God will not suffer his Kirk to be so far deceived, as that an unworthy man shall be elected, where free election is, and the Spirit of God is earnestly called upon to decide betwixt the two.*"—"Well," rejoined her Majesty, "do as you will, but that man is a dangerous man." Knox afterwards admits, "that herein was not the Queen deceived; for he had corrupted or bribed the most part of the gentlemen, not only to nominate, but also to elect him¹."

It is unnecessary to observe, that the ground of assurance held by this distinguished reformer was precisely the same so long occupied by the Church of Rome; namely, the conviction that the Almighty would guard from error every assembly of his faithful ministers convened for professional objects, and duly invoking the aid of the Divine Spirit. On many

¹ Knox's Historie, p. 327. It is remarked by the reformer, that this hypocritical candidate for the rank of Superintendent "was at that tyme the man who was most familiar with the said Jhone (Knox himself), at his hous and at tabill."

occasions, Knox represents himself as inspired, and even as being endowed with the gift of prophecy. He is not ashamed to boast, that he foretold events before they came to pass, announced blessings which in due time were realised, and proclaimed judgments, disasters, and punishments, which, in their course, were inflicted by the hand of Providence. In these respects, he felt the full influence of the age in which he lived. No man thought himself either presumptuous, or the victim of self-deception, when he declared that his doctrines, and more especially his prayers, were suggested by supernatural agency, and that, on solemn occasions, it was equally impossible and unlawful for him to resist the heavenly impulse by which he was moved. When the more ardent preachers of that generation ascended the pulpit, they professed to surrender themselves, their intellect, imagination, and feelings, to the expected embraces of the Holy Ghost ; and hence they claimed, on the one hand, an exemption from all responsibility, and, on the other, that implicit submission which was due to those who gave utterance to the infallible oracles of God. They declared, that they were not masters of themselves when officiating in the congregation ; and accordingly, however much their words might give offence, they refused to repress the motions of the omnipotent energy which was working within them. No impression less sacred than that now described, no conviction less powerful than that they were the very instruments through which the voice of the living God was uttered, could have roused men to such an elevated pitch of confidence in the truth of their own opinions, as to make

them treat with so much scorn and execration every dogma in the smallest degree different. If they did not believe themselves inspired, and consequently infallible, they must be regarded as having been entirely devoid of modesty and uprightness, as well as of Christian forbearance.

As a natural consequence of the lofty notions entertained by them as to the origin of their authority, as preachers of the word, arose their determination not to relinquish the privilege they had assumed of examining into the conduct, and even of assailing the characters of public officers, when addressing a mixed audience. Such freedom was considered as a part of the vocation which they had received from Heaven. The rights of the Church were held paramount to those of every human tribunal; and when the brethren were blamed for reproaching, in the pulpit, the Queen, her husband, or confidential servants, they instantly appealed from the judgment of the Privy Council to the superior wisdom and jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical body. Like the Roman Catholic priests, they demanded to be tried by their professional associates; binding themselves to submit to the decision of their spiritual judges, who alone were declared competent to define the limits of their duty, in exercising that sacred commission which authorises a Christian minister to rebuke as well as to intreat.

The intolerance and fanaticism, indeed, which clouded the early zeal of the Protestants, might be traced to the Church from which they had just separated; and we may also trace to the same source that freedom of remonstrance, and reproach of digni-

ties, so common among the reformed preachers, and which have been supposed to distinguish, in a particular manner, the immediate successors of Knox in Scotland. A flagrant instance of the abuse to which the pulpit was sometimes prostituted by the Roman Catholic clergy, occurred in the summer of 1553, even in the stern presence of Henry VIII. The King being at Greenwich, as was the royal fashion at that period in the fine season of the year, Peto, an Observant friar, was appointed to preach before him. This insolent fanatic chose, for the subject of his sermon, the history of Ahab and Jezebel, to which worthless characters he chose to find parallels in the King and Queen. His own case the preacher modestly compared to that of the prophet Micaiah; and accordingly, as if commissioned by the Deity himself, he thus gave vent to his seditious arrogance: "I know that I shall eat the bread of affliction and drink the water of sorrow; yet, because our Lord hath put it in my mouth, I must speak it. There are many preachers, yea, too many, who preach and persuade thee otherwise, feeding thy folly and frail affections upon hope of their own worldly promotion; and by that means, they betray thy soul, thy honour, and thy posterity, to obtain fat benefices, to become rich abbots, to get episcopal jurisdiction, and other ecclesiastical dignities. These, I say, are the four hundred prophets, who, in the spirit of lying, seek to deceive thee; but take good heed, lest thou, being seduced, find Ahab's punishment, which was to have his blood licked by dogs¹."

¹ Soames's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 406.

Henry sat with astonishing patience, listening to this unseasonable display of perverted talent, which, it is probable, gave him more pain, as the friar had the reputation of being "a simple yet very devout man." It will appear from this statement, that the invectives pronounced by Knox and his disciples on the unfortunate Mary, were less original than is commonly imagined. The model was supplied by that body, whom the Reformer described as "children of the devil;" and whose speculative tenets were much more hateful in his eyes than their want of charity and decorum.

Even in point of doctrine, it was found extremely difficult to throw off the chains of usage and authority which had so long bound the public mind to the established creed. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper, around which the greatest number of superstitious notions had accumulated, was upon the whole viewed by the reformers under a more clear and simple light than was ever thrown upon it by the elder priesthood. But, notwithstanding this boasted exercise of intellectual freedom, it was only with slow and hesitating steps that they departed from the awful tenet of the corporeal presence; and the language in which they attempted to express their belief on this mysterious subject, renders manifest the obscurity that still darkened their comprehension of it, and the fears which encumbered its discussion. They thus deliver their opinion: "We believe, that in the Supper, rightly used, Jesus Christ is so joined with us, that he becometh the very nourishment and food of our souls. Not that we imagine any transubstantiation of bread into Christ's natural body,

and of wine into his natural blood, (as the Papists have perniciously taught and damnably believed) but this union and communion which we have with the body and blood of Christ in the right use of the Sacrament, is wrought by operation of the Holy Ghost, who, by true faith, carries us above all things that are visible, and carnal, and earthly, and maketh us to feed upon the body and blood of Christ Jesus, which was once broken and shed for us, which now is in the heavens, and appeareth in the presence of the Father for us. And yet, notwithstanding the far distance of place which is betwixt his body, glorified in heaven, and us now mortal upon the earth, yet we most assuredly believe, that the bread which we break in the communion of Christ's body, and the cup which we bless, is the communion of his blood. The faithful, in the right use of the Lord's table, do so eat and drink the body and blood of Christ, that he remaineth in them, and they in him : yea, that they are so made flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones, that as the eternal Godhead hath given to the flesh of Jesus Christ (which of its own condition and nature was mortal and corruptible) life and immortality ; so doth Christ Jesus' flesh and blood, eaten and drunken by us, give to us the same prerogatives ; which, albeit we confess, are neither given unto us at that only time, neither yet by the proper power and virtue of the sacraments only, yet we affirm, that the faithful, in the right use of the Lord's table, have such conjunction with Jesus Christ, as the natural man cannot comprehend ¹."

¹ Knox, pp. 249, 250. Dr. Cook, vol. ii. p. 360. observes, " it cannot be denied, that in this laboured exposition there is

So capable is this definition of being understood in the sense maintained by the Church of Rome, that most Catholics would adopt it as an exposition of their faith, relative to the mystery of the holy sacrament. It is a long interval, indeed, which separates the tenet of the corporeal presence from the very simple doctrine which has finally superseded it, in the Communion founded by Knox in Scotland.

His contemporaries held, that the faithful communicant was made "to feed upon the body and blood of Jesus Christ, which was once broken and shed for us, which is now in the heavens, and appeareth in the presence of his Father for us;" whereas his successors, in the present day, regard the sacramental elements as plain bread and wine, which, after being removed from the Lord's table, may be used any where else as part of an ordinary meal.

In regard also to the initiatory ordinance of Christianity, the opinions of the first reformers of the Scottish Church differed little from those of the papal establishment. "We assuredly believe, that by baptism we are engrafted into Jesus Christ, to be made partakers of his justice (righteousness), by the which our sins are covered and remitted." They, accordingly, "utterly damn the vanity of those who affirm the sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bare signs."

much obscurity. It shows very remarkably, that in religious reformation, it is not always what is most at war with reason which can with the greatest ease be renounced. The Protestants opposed and denied transubstantiation, but it is remarkable, that they departed so little, at least from the language in which it had been announced.

To maintain any dogma relative to the state of the human soul between death and the resurrection, without giving countenance to the doctrine of purgatory, on the one hand, and without, on the other, opposing too rudely the general current of belief which had descended from very ancient times, required at once considerable prudence and delicacy. Nor were the authors of the Scottish "Confession of Faith" deficient in either of these qualities. They admit the existence of the Paradise promised to the penitent thief on the cross, and of the place of punishment in which the rich epicure was tormented; placing their conclusion, however, on such a basis, as could neither encourage the superstition of the one class of believers, nor offend the most sensitive jealousy of the other. The article is expressed in these terms: "The elect departed are in peace, and rest from their labours; not that they sleep and come to a certain oblivion, (as some fantastic heads do affirm) but that they are delivered from all fear, all torment, and all temptation, to which we and all God's elect are subject in this life, and therefore do bear the name of the Kirk militant. As contrary always, the reprobate and unfaithful departed, have anguish, torment, and pain, that cannot be expressed. So that neither are the one nor the other in such sleep, that they feel not joy or torment, as the parable of Jesus Christ in the xvith of Luke, his words to the thief, and these words of the souls crying under the altar, *O Lord, thou that art righteous and just, how long shalt thou not revenge our blood upon them that dwell on the earth*, do plainly testify."

On the more abstruse points of theology, the dis-

cussion of which, indeed, had not yet become popular in Scotland, the reformers exercised a very judicious abstinence. The perplexing inquiries respecting predestination, irresistible grace, the nature of human agency, and the influence of the Divine decrees on the final destiny of man, were wisely debarred from their Confession. They perceived the great importance attached to the doctrine of justification by faith, and the propriety of restricting the value of good works to such actions of Christian charity as promote the welfare of mankind living in society with one another. "Good works we affirm to be those only that are done in faith, at God's commandment, who in his law hath expressed what be the things that please him. And evil works we affirm to be not only those which are expressly done against God's commandment; but those also, that, in matters of religion and worshipping of God, have no assurance but the invention and opinion of man ¹."

Under the head of worship, it has been already remarked, that the objection to the use of preconceived forms, which was afterwards so strongly felt among the more modern covenanters, had very little weight in the days of Knox. On the contrary, it has been seen, that a species of liturgy was sanctioned, from the earliest period of the Reformation down to the year 1637, when, as is well known, an attempt was made by the government of Charles I. to introduce into the congregations the "Book of Common Prayer, for the use of the Church of Scot-

¹ Knox, book iii. p. 237—253.

and," On the very morning of the day on which that project was defeated, prayers were read by the Reverend Patrick Henderson, who, " by way of farewell, said to his auditory, Adieu, good people ; for I think this is the last time of my reading prayers in this place ; which caused a great murmuring in the congregation." In like manner, when a proposal was made to allow the citizens of Edinburgh to choose their own religion, and to give to the majority, whether Protestant or Catholic, the use of the chief ecclesiastical buildings, Adam Fullarton maintained, that the reformed had long possessed the high kirk, or St. Giles's, " for the reading of our common prayers, preaching of the word, and the ministry of the sacraments, &c.¹"

During the interval just indicated, it would appear, that more than one manual of devotion was used in the assemblies of the Scottish Protestants. It is generally understood, that the liturgy of Edward VI. was preferred for a time ; being afterwards succeeded by the little volume entitled " The Psalms of David in Meeter, with the Prose, whereunto is added Prayers commonly used in the Kuche and private houses." This last contains, besides a treatise on fasting, and on excommunication, forms for the administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, as well as for the solemnization of marriage and the visitation of the sick. There is also the " Form and Order of the Election of the Superintendent, which may serve in the election of all other ministers." The whole is concluded with a " Catechisme, or

¹ Knox, book iii. p. 271.

manner to teach children the Christian religion, wherein the minister demandeth the question, and the child maketh answer." It is probable, that this is the book from which Mr. Patrick Henderson officiated, as Reader, on the morning of the 23d of July, so celebrated for the riot which prevented the legal introduction of liturgical worship into Scotland.

The singing of psalms, in such a manner as the whole congregation could join, soon became the approved method of praising the Almighty in all the reformed churches. It has been elsewhere mentioned, that the practice of reducing into rhyme the pious songs of the ancient Jews was derived from France, where Clement Marot, about the year 1540, put forth a metrical version of the first fifty psalms. The approbation bestowed upon this happy effort of a delightful talent, both by the serious and the gay, led to similar undertakings in other parts of Europe; and the collection contained in the liturgy, usually ascribed to Knox, was gathered from the first-fruits of the English Muses in the new field of sacred poetry. The greater number of the Psalms are taken from Sternhold and Hopkins; bearing marks, however, of an earlier and less polished edition than that now in use; while the remainder appear to have been selected from other authors, whose names only are known to the professional antiquary¹.

At the period when Marot's Psalms were given to the world, Calvin was busily occupied with the constitution and worship of his new Church, in which

¹ Smeedley's History of the Reformed Religion in France, vol. i. p. 42.

due importance was paid to singing. Regarding the antiphonal chanting, so long practised by the Romish clergy, as superstitious and objectionable on its own account; or, it is more probable, being satisfied that the people at large, from their ignorance of the science, could not take a part in the elaborate performance of ecclesiastical music; he projected, with the advice of Luther, a species of religious song, consisting of portions of the Psalms intelligibly translated into the vernacular tongue, and adapted to plain melodies, which all might learn, and in which all might join. The great Reformer introduced the versions of Marot into the congregation of Geneva. Being set to very simple notes, they became extremely popular, and accordingly soon found a place in nearly all the religious communities which adopted the Calvinistic model.

In the retrospect we have just taken of the new form of religious society, which issued from the elements of conflicting opinion, so characteristic of the sixteenth century, we see much of the strength and much of the weakness of human nature; a great deal to admire, and not a little to deplore. At one stage we behold a party, still inconsiderable, craving leave from the guardians of the national faith to examine into the revealed word of God; to exercise their reason on the articles of their belief; and to satisfy themselves as to the scriptural authority of the tenets they had been taught to hold, as well as of the worship which they were wont to address to the Supreme Being. The reader cannot fail to sympathise with such desires, and to condemn the obstinacy with which they were opposed. The punish-

ment of death, too, inflicted on a tender conscience, accused only of speculative error, excites the utmost indignation against the unfeeling tyrants who abused the power with which they were armed, and violated the dearest rights of the Christian community.

But, in a very short time, we observe the same persons, who were so loud in their complaints and so earnest in their intreaties, directing against their former opponents, the very intolerance, calumny, and threatening, from which themselves had just escaped. We find them enacting statutes, whereby the loss of life and of goods was denounced, for the venial transgression of misinterpreting a scriptural metaphor, and of adhering to doctrines which had been held for ages as the most important in the whole volume of inspiration. The crusade against spiritual despotism, so far from establishing the principles of liberty, produced, in the first instance, at least, no other effect than to transfer power from one arbitrary hand to another. The warriors who went forth to fight for freedom of conscience, returned in triumph, with "Death to Heresy" inscribed on their banners.

The era of toleration had not yet arrived. It was still deemed treason to the true belief to permit any other to exist; and men conscious of weakness and ready to confess it in every other point, insisted upon setting up the standard of their own intellect as the criterion of a sound faith, and upon compelling the rest of the world to submit. But though the first reformers were themselves destitute of liberality, they laid a sure foundation for a goodly structure of mutual forbearance in future times. They pointed out a path which infallibly led to the object

which all professed to have in view. The practice of appealing to the sacred Scriptures naturally vindicated the rights of private judgment, and at length exposed the gross inconsistency of inviting men to inquire for their own satisfaction, and of punishing the unavoidable deviations into which the sincerest and most enlightened minds may be betrayed. Perhaps they saw not, nor even intended, the beneficial results in which their ardent zeal and indefatigable labours have issued. In sowing the seed they might not be fully aware of the nature of the crop which was to be produced ; but we are not on that account the less indebted to their toils, nor the less bound to respect their courage, perseverance, and self-denial.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION IN
1560, TO THE DEATH OF KNOX IN 1572.

Roman Catholics yielded without a struggle—Protestants not prepared to avail themselves of their triumph—Doubts as to the validity of the Parliamentary sanction—Depressed condition of the new Church—Slackness on the part of the government—Motives of the Regent—Regulations adopted by the clergy—Readers prevented from administering the Lord's Supper—Ecclesiastical property alienated—Plan for revising polity of the Church—Motives of the clergy, and of the nobility—Remark of Bishop Sage—Assembly at Leith—Conclusions adopted there—Advice of Archbishop Hamilton—Articles approved by Assembly at Perth—Approval by Knox—Opinion of Wodrow, Calderwood, and Petrie—Their dishonesty in garbling records—Supposed objection to Knox—Bishops appointed to the different Sees—Death of Regent Mar and of John Knox—Character of the Earl—Character of Knox—His vanity and ambition—Claims the gift of prophecy—Remarks on this claim—The great merit of his conduct—His stern vindictive temper—His hatred of Mary, and of all connected with her—His impetuosity and intolerance—Offer of a bishopric in England—Judicious advice to Edward VI., as to division of dioceses and an increased number of bishops.

HAVING given some account of the constitution of the ancient Scottish Church, as well as of the progress of those opinions which finally superseded the papal authority in that kingdom, we now proceed

to describe the various contests which took place between the two great bodies of Protestants, who, though they agreed generally in the theological doctrines established by the Reformation, yet differed not a little about the form of ecclesiastical polity, and the source of that official power, which is required for the administration of the more solemn rites of religion.

The struggle, which terminated in the ascendancy of the new faith, was less obstinate than might have been expected, when viewed in reference either to the wealth of the Roman Catholics, or to the support which they might still have derived from the attachment of a considerable body of the people, whose belief and interests were not yet separated from the older communion. Nothing in that eventful period is more remarkable, than the easy resignation manifested by the hierarchy to the severe fate they were condemned to undergo. Stunned, it would appear, not less by the suddenness, than by the violence of the attack that was made upon them, they presented hardly any show of resistance; influenced, perhaps, by the hope that the government, which could no longer protect any of its institutions, might yet recover strength sufficient to subdue popular opposition; or, it may be, by the painful consciousness, that they possessed not the means of checking effectually the aggressions of an armed multitude, directed by leaders from whom they could expect no terms.

After the year 1560, the Congregation, as they were wont to designate themselves, had a certain right to be regarded as the established Church of Scotland. Serious doubts, it is true, were enter-

tained as to the validity of the parliamentary sanction, on which the new constitution, and more especially the ecclesiastical branch of it, were founded ; but although at the period just mentioned the ratification of the sovereign could not be obtained, the practical authority of the State was exerted in behalf of the Reformers, while the old worship was forbidden under the severest penalties. No sooner, again, had Mary resigned the crown, than the seal of the young king's government was applied to the charter of Scottish Protestantism ; which after that moment had nothing to fear, except from the avarice of its patrons, and the hasty measures of its injudicious friends.

The infant church, however, notwithstanding the countenance of the civil power, presents itself to the view of history in a very depressed and even destitute condition. The noblemen, who were ever ready to stimulate the zeal of the preachers, so long as they were employed in stripping the Romish priests of their patrimony, turned a deaf ear to their solicitations, whenever they urged their claim to a portion of the spoils which their own arms had won. Even the miserable pittance awarded to the ministers was not regularly paid. Hence it will be found that the subjects which engrossed the attention of the General Assembly, for many years after the new polity was established, were the recovery of the ecclesiastical revenue, the execution of the penal statutes against papists, and the enactment of laws to prevent the brethren from having recourse to secular employments,—an expedient which some of them adopted, in order to obtain the means of subsistence.

Nor was it without reason that the reformed ministers complained of slackness and indifference on the part of the government, though now decidedly Protestant. The Regent Murray, whose influence had contributed materially to their success, and whose professions of attachment to their cause had undergone no diminution, found himself so enthralled by circumstances that he could not take any decided step in their favour. The nobles who adhered to Mary were still numerous and powerful, while many of those who had vowed allegiance to the infant monarch could only be kept steady to their principles, by being allowed to retain their share of the plunder which had been wrested from the Church. The Earl, meanwhile, was more willing to see the preachers starve than to hazard his political ascendancy, which he had in a great measure acquired by conniving at the rapacity of his aristocratical allies. Knox, and the more zealous of his brethren, mortified to find their hopes blasted and their counsels despised, gave utterance to the deepest feelings of disappointment. The great reformer acknowledged that he was now dead to all civil affairs, and that his life was rendered miserable¹.

(1568.) Destitute of a competent and regular income, the clergy nevertheless endeavoured to improve the constitution of their society, and to adjust its machinery to the altered circumstances in which their recognition by the civil government had placed them. Formerly, as no precise order was observed

¹ Calderwood's MS. vol. ii. quoted by Dr. Cook ; History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 38.

in conducting the business of the General Assembly, much confusion occasionally ensued, and disturbed their deliberations. Such of the members as affected peculiar fervour, and an extraordinary degree of zeal, interrupted the calm procedure which wiser men were anxious to preserve, and thereby gave to the friends of the Reformation much cause for anxiety and alarm. The Church being convened in the month of July this year, Willock, Superintendent of the West, was chosen moderator; but he, having experienced the difficulty of repressing the irregular movements of the less judicious of his brethren, refused to accept the appointment unless a pledge were given that greater decency should be maintained¹.

To insure a becoming subordination for the future, a law was passed defining the persons who should be entitled to sit and vote in General Assemblies, and specifying by whom they were to be elected. It was ordained that none should have voice in these meetings but superintendents; visitors of churches, men who had the powers without the title of the class just named; commissioners of shires and universities; and such ministers as the superintendents should choose in their several dioceses and synods; being individuals possessed of knowledge and intelligence, and therefore qualified to decide upon the subjects proposed for consideration. This was a very important step towards the permanent settlement of the Church on the basis recommended by the authors of the First Book of Discipline. It was well calculated

¹ Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 39.

to secure the assistance of the ablest men in the ministry, whilst it gave a very powerful influence to the superintendents, who would naturally make choice of such of their clergy as they thought favourable to the form of government introduced by Knox. Another law passed on this occasion, which must have contributed materially to the same effect. To prevent an undue accumulation of business before the Supreme Court, it was enacted that no case should be brought before them which the superintendents might and ought to determine, in their respective courts. Thus the most important duties connected with the government and discipline of the Church were committed to the diocesan synods, where the superintendent occupied the place usually assigned to the Bishop, in communions purely episcopal.

In other respects, too, there was a gradual approach to regularity. Rejecting the maxims of all former ages in regard to the necessity of ordination in those who administer the sacraments of Christ, the Scottish reformers had given their countenance to the opinion that, so far as the validity of religious rites is considered, there is no difference between the authority of a priest, duly appointed to his office, and that which may be assumed by a layman at his own pleasure. In consequence of such lax notions, every one who thought himself qualified, undertook to celebrate the Lord's Supper. The Readers, in particular, who had not the slightest pretension to holy orders, were wont to perform this solemn service, in private as well as in public; an abuse which the Assembly, whose eyes began to open to its pernicious effects,

instructed the superintendents to check for the future, in all places under their jurisdiction ¹.

(1571). The distractions produced by the assassination of the two Regents, Murray and Lennox, prevented the arrangement of any such measures as might have still farther consolidated the polity of the Church. Every proposal on the part of the clergy, which had for its object the efficiency and independence of the new establishment, was received by the ruling faction with the utmost coldness. The noblemen who supported the authority of the young king, and who, of course, engrossed all the power of the state, were so intent upon their own interests, that they entirely neglected the welfare of that religious communion which on every occasion they had identified with the glory of God and the eternal happiness of mankind. Nay, they resolved, at a Parliament held in 1571, that the property of the Church should be alienated for ever from the ecclesiastical body; and that such portions of it as were already in the possession of laymen should still be held by them under charters to be obtained from the crown. This statute, we are told, was founded upon the plea that, since the Reformation, most of the superiors, the bishops, abbots, and priors, had died; and that as successors to them were not to be appointed, no title to lands or tithes could be given, except by some new provision of the legislature. Hence, by one sweeping Act, that large division of the Churches' patrimony, which had been seized during the troubled

¹ Spotswood, p. 219. Calderwood, Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 44. Cook, vol. i. p. 42.

period, subsequent to the death of James V., was converted into a royal fee, and secured, in the meantime, to the rapacious barons ¹.

A consideration, suggested by this violent measure, induced the Protestant ministers to listen to a plan for revising the principles of their institution. Upon mature reflection, it appeared that as ecclesiastical property was originally vested in the dignified clergy, the right to its inheritance in a legal point of view depended upon the existence of the higher orders, as members of the establishment. In a correspondence which passed between Erskine of Dun and the Earl of Mar, who had succeeded Lennox as Regent, the reformer observes, that "the fault of the whole stands in this—that the polity of the Church of Scotland is not perfect; nor has there been any solid conference amongst godly men of sound judgment and of good intentions, as to what remedy should be provided." It was, therefore, proposed that certain changes should be introduced which, by bringing the ecclesiastical form of the Protestant body nearer to the ancient model, would at once restore the Third Estate to the constitution of Parliament, and also entitle the revived prelacy to demand possession of the various revenues belonging to their order.

The clergy were not ignorant that the form contained in the First Book of Discipline had failed to give general satisfaction; and that it was even

¹ Acts of Parliament collected by Murray, p. 194. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, p. 181. Cook, vol. i. p. 158. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 203.

opposed by many members of the Supreme Council, who were favourable to the doctrines preached by the reformers. They felt, too, that it was highly important to their interests to be represented in the legislature. Without having some of their body in that assembly, they could not exercise a suitable influence on its decisions ; and, in the unsettled state of things, there was much reason to apprehend that measures extremely disadvantageous to the Protestant religion would be adopted by the government.

It has been insinuated, indeed, that motives of a more mercenary nature swayed a number of the nobility, and rendered them eager for the innovation now proposed. For instance, upon the execution of Archbishop Hamilton, who fell a victim to political revenge, the Regent had conferred on the Earl of Morton the revenue belonging to the see of St. Andrew's. But, as this gift might have been afterwards called in question, on the ground that the income of the primacy had not been legally forfeited ; and as many similar cases were likely to arise, it is maintained, by certain writers, that the lords had recourse to the expedient of restoring the order of bishops, in the hope that these dignitaries would be satisfied with a part of the original patrimony, and consent to convey, by a formal deed, the residue of it to such powerful laymen as should happen to obtain the grant.

It is probable, however, that these suspicions, which originated with the more zealous presbyterian authors, at a later period, were rather the fruit of their resentment at the temporary revival of episcopacy, than a just inference from real facts. This opi-

nion will be confirmed by the reflection that no transfer of ecclesiastical lands or tithes could be held valid unless sanctioned by Parliament, and that one of the principal effects of the proposed arrangement was to recover for the clergy their seats in the legislature, where they might watch over their own interests. No private bargain between the Ordinary of a diocese and his patron could permanently dispossess the Church of her lawful rights and property; and, in point of fact, it does not appear that, even during the regency of the avaricious Morton, any attempt was made to pervert the course of law for the purpose of confirming his usurpations. Besides, there is the best reason to believe that, under the auspices of Mar, who proposed the revision of the polity, the government was well-disposed towards the reformed ministers; and, upon the whole, the argument of Bishop Sage on the point at issue appears quite satisfactory.

“If,” says he, “the court had such a design as is pretended, I must confess I do not see how it was useful for them to fall on such a wild project for accomplishing their purposes. Why be at all this pains to re-establish the old polity, if the only purpose was to rob the Church of her patrimony? Might not that have been done without, as well as with it? Could they have wished the Church in weaker circumstances for asserting her own rights, than she was in before this agreement? Was it not as easy to have possessed themselves of a bishoprick, an abbacy, or a priory, when there were no bishops, nor abbots, nor priors, as when there were? What a pitiful politick, or rather what an insolent wickedness

was it, as it were to take a coat, which was no man's, and put it on one, and possess him of it, and call it his coat, that they might rob him of it? Or, making the uncharitable supposition that they could have ventured on such a needless, such a mad fetch of iniquity, were all the clergy so short-sighted that they could not penetrate into such a palpable, such a gross piece of cheatry¹?"

(1572.) Having obtained the concurrence of the Regent, a convention of the Church was summoned to meet at Leith, on the 12th of January, 1572. This meeting consisted of the superintendents, barons, commissioners for planting churches, commissioners of provinces and towns, and ordinary ministers. To remove all doubt as to the authority with which they were invested, they unanimously declared that the present convention should have all the strength, force, and effect of a General Assembly, and might decide all points usually determined in the supreme court. In the third session, full power was given to the superintendents of Angus and Fife, accompanied by four of the most respectable and learned of the clergy, to meet with a deputation from the Regent and Council, for settling the polity of the Church. This latter body comprehended the Earl of Morton, chancellor; Lord Ruthven, treasurer; the Abbot of Dunfermline, secretary; James Macgill, keeper of the Rolls; Sir John Ballenden, justice clerk; and Colin Campbell, of Glenorchy. After several meetings of mature deliberation, the following conclusions were adopted:—

¹ Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, p. 197.

“ It is thought good, in consideration of the present state,

“ 1. That the names and titles of the archbishops and bishops be not altered, nor the bounds of the dioceses confounded, but that they continue in time coming, as they did before the reformation of religion, at least till the King's Majesty's majority, or consent of Parliament.

“ 2. That the archbishoprics and bishoprics vacant should be conferred on men endowed, as far as may be, with the qualities specified in the examples of Paul to Timothy and Titus.

“ 3. That to all archbishoprics and bishoprics that should become vacant qualified persons should be presented within a year and day after the vacancy takes place, and those nominated to be thirty years of age at the least.

“ 4. That the spiritual jurisdiction should be exercised by the bishops in their dioceses.

“ 5. That abbots, priors, and inferior prelates, presented to benefices, should be tried, as to their qualification and their aptness to give a voice in Parliament, by the bishop or superintendent of the bounds, and upon their collation should be admitted to the benefice, but not otherwise.

“ 6. That the elections of persons presented to bishoprics should be made by the chapters of the cathedral churches ; and, because the chapters of divers churches were possessed by men provided before his Majesty's coronation, who bore no office in the Church, that a particular nomination of ministers should be made in every diocese, to supply their rooms until the benefice should fall void.

“ 7. That all benefices with cure under prelacies, should be conferred on actual ministers, and on no others.

“ 8. That ministers should receive ordination from the bishop of the diocese, and, where no bishop was as yet placed, from the superintendent of the bounds.

“ 9. That the bishops and superintendents, at the ordination of ministers, should exact of them an oath for acknowledging his Majesty’s authority, and for obedience to their ordinary in all things¹.”

These resolutions indicate a complete change of mind among the leading reformers, on the important subject of ecclesiastical polity and government. In framing the Book of Discipline, Knox and his coadjutors, who had no objection to a modified prelacy, purposely omitted the name of bishop, as having become offensive to the popular ear, and substituted a term which, though expressive of the same official duties, was still free from all the unfavourable associations connected with the Papal hierarchy. But this term or title was unknown to the constitution of the country, and could not be recognised as a qualification, either for claiming a seat in the National Council, or for demanding a share of the patrimony which had descended to the clergy as the representatives of the former establishment. In short, the evil arising from so great an innovation, and

¹ Spotswood, p. 260. Collier, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 533. Heylin’s *History of the Presbyterians*, *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*, p. 185; and Cook’s *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 175.

which, in fact, the proceedings of the Leith Assembly were specially meant to remedy, had already presented itself to the judgment of many intelligent individuals. Archbishop Hamilton, for example, upon hearing of the new scheme devised by Knox, drew the attention of the latter to the perils which he was creating by so wide a departure from the ancient form. The primate admitted that there might be some reason for the changes, in point of doctrine, which the Protestant Church had introduced; but he added, that it would be wise to retain the "old policy, which had been the work of ages, or to put a better in its place, before he attempted to shake its stability." The sagacious prelate saw distinctly that the revenues which had been alienated, would not, by this new frame of ecclesiastical rule, be easily recovered; and although the principal author of the Book of Discipline paid no attention to these suggestions, he had soon cause to regret that he had not proceeded with the caution thus recommended to him at the instance of an antagonist who, with all his faults, was by no means ungenerous¹.

¹ Spotswood, p. 174. Keith, p. 495. The advice communicated by Archbishop Hamilton to Knox is said to have been entrusted to John Brand, a monk of Holyrood House, "who said from him, that howsoever he had introduced another form of religion, and reformed the doctrine of the Church, whereof it might be there was some reason, yet he should do well not to shake loose the order and policy received, which had been the work of many ages, till he were sure of a better to be settled in place thereof. And to this purpose he told of a custom kept among the Highlanders in breaking wild colts, how they were wont to fasten them with two strong tethers; and when they let loose the one they kept the other fast, until the colt was made tame, and brought in subjection to his rider: for the beast

It is worthy of notice that the articles determined by the Assembly at Leith, received the approbation of Knox: who, there can be no doubt, must have been satisfied that the Regent's government was sincere in the professions made by them for the welfare of the Church, and that they intended to act upon the principles avowed by their commissioners in this convention. At a regular meeting of the clergy at Perth, in the month of August, the subject was resumed, and all the members were requested to take under their serious consideration the several heads of the late Agreement as it was called, and to give their opinions freely on its suitableness to the circumstances in which they were placed. The result was a general approval of the scheme, viewed as the outline of an ecclesiastical constitution; though some apprehensions were expressed that the titles, thereby revived, bore too close a resemblance to the corruptions of the Roman hierarchy. To soothe the feelings and remove the alarm of those who entertained such views, a solemn declaration was made that, by restoring the names of Bishop and Archbishop, Dean, Archdeacon, and Chapter, the Assembly did not intend to give any countenance to Popery or superstition, wishing rather that those names might be changed into others not scandalous and offensive. They, in like manner, declare that "the said heads

otherwise finding itself at liberty, flinging him off that sat on it, would run to the hills, and put them to some days', perhaps to some months' travel, before they caught it again. So people, said he, are wild for the greater part, and hardly kept in subjection of their spiritual governors; and being once cast loose, would not be easily brought again into order."

and articles agreed upon shall be only received as an *interim*, until farther and more perfect order be obtained, at the hands of the King's Majesty's Regent and nobility¹."

The approbation or acquiescence expressed by Knox, was contained in a letter directed to the General Assembly, and conveyed thither by two of his friends, Winram and Pont, to whom he had communicated his private sentiments. He requests that his brethren would provide by a regular enactment that "all bishoprics vacant may be presented, and qualified persons nominated thereunto, within a year after the vaking thereof, *according to the order taken in Leith by the commissioners of the nobility and of the kirk, in the month of January last.*" He suggests also that "an Act be made, decreeing and ordaining all bishops, admitted by the order of the kirk *now received*, to give an account of their whole rents and intromissions therewith once in the year."

Considering the temper of the reformed clergy, a few years prior to the date of these memorable Assemblies, and their utter abhorrence of every name, form, or institution, used by the Papal establishment, it must appear surprising that a scheme of discipline and church rule so decidedly episcopal should have been by them unanimously received and regularly sanctioned. It must be inferred that the necessity of a change had been as clearly perceived by the ministers themselves as by the Civil Government, to whom they had applied for advice and aid.

¹ Fundamental Charter, p. 204. Spotswood, p. 260. Collier, vol. ii. p. 239.

This conclusion will derive additional strength from a candid examination of the letters addressed by Erskine of Dun to the Earl of Mar, as well as of the petition presented by the General Assembly to the Parliament, which met at Stirling, in August 1571. In truth, it is not to be imagined that men reared in the school of Knox, and even that veteran reformer himself, would have acceded to an innovation so complete, had they not been convinced of the expediency of the measure.

But the more zealous of the presbyterian historians, Calderwood, Petrie, and Wodrow, scandalized at what they are pleased to consider the gross inconsistency of the ministers who composed the Assemblies of Leith and Perth, deny that the proceedings at the former of these conventions were regular ; that they were ever approved by the Church ; and insist that their object was not to revive but rather to avoid even the form of episcopacy. " They look back," says Dr. Cook, " with regret to this part of the ecclesiastical annals of their country, and endeavour, very unnecessarily, and in express opposition to the language employed on the occasion, to represent the resolutions framed at Leith as having been rashly made, as having been forced upon the clergy, and as having never received the explicit sanction of the General Assemblies ; an effect of party zeal, not uncommon, but weakening the cause which it was designed to support ¹."

¹ Cook, vol. i. p. 186. This author remarks in a note, that " Calderwood, Petrie, Wodrow, and a controversial writer about the time of the Revolution (Gilbert Rule) adopted this mode of

To accomplish this object, the writers just named, more especially Calderwood and Petrie, have not hesitated to conceal many important facts in the proceedings of the General Assemblies, and even to mangle and pervert the record in which these transactions have been preserved. This paltry and disingenuous conduct has been fully exposed by Bishop Sage, in the able work to which we have repeatedly made a reference. Other authors at the present day continue to persist in the assertion that the Agreement, accomplished at Leith, was dictated by the government; whose sole object, they maintain, was to create a legal pretext for covering their attack on Church property. No reproach more severe could be thrown upon the honesty and intelligence of the ministers, who represented their brethren in the conference held with the lay deputies commissioned by the Regent. Three of those selected for this purpose, namely, Erskine of Dun, the superintendent of Angus; Winram, the superintendent of Fife; and Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, were the intimate friends of Knox. This last, indeed, was his colleague or assistant; and it is not to be supposed that these individuals would give their countenance to a project which did not enjoy his approbation, and at the same time, seem calculated to further the interests of the reformed faith¹.

treating with contempt the first appearance of episcopacy in the Reformed Church of Scotland; but they have in my estimation been satisfactorily answered by the author of the *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined, &c.*"

¹ The acute author of the *Life of John Knox*, vol. ii. p. 199, when mentioning the occurrence, states that "the Regent and

The Earl of Morton, who had already obtained a gift of the revenues belonging to the see of St. Andrew's, lost no time in procuring the election of John Douglas, the Rector of the University, to fill the office of Archbishop. This step did not fail to excite considerable dissatisfaction. There was too much reason to suspect, that the new prelate had consented to accept the dignity thus secured to him, with such portion of the income as his patron might choose to appropriate. Knox, in particular, who regarded the integrity of the Church's patrimony as only inferior in importance to the purity of her doctrine, remonstrated against the appointment of his

Council called an extraordinary Assembly of superintendents and other ministers, to meet at Leith,"—and "that this convention, through the influence of the Court, consented that the titles of Archbishop and other ecclesiastical dignitaries should be retained."

But it does not appear, that the Court at this time assumed the right of calling Assemblies; and it is well known, that the clergy in those days were little disposed to submit to Court influence. The Assembly, in fact, was convened by the rulers of the Church, the superintendents and commissioners. Spotswood remarks, that "in the month of January an Assembly of the Church convened at Leith, where, *after great instance made with the Regent and Council*, for settling the policy of the Church, it was agreed," &c. p. 259. The entreaty was on the part of the ministers.

It is farther deserving of notice, that by the Agreement at Leith express provision was made against simony and dilapidations of benefices, and that Bishops should swear to that purpose,—a fact not very consistent with the allegation, that the said Agreement was forced upon the clergy by the Court, and proceeding upon a design on the part of the latter upon the revenues of the Church. *Fundamental Charter*, p. 206.

friend, as a certain prelude to a systematic robbery on the part of the nobles. He therefore refused to inaugurate the Primate, though requested to perform this ceremony by the Earl himself. The office was, however, discharged by his confidential friend, the superintendent of Fife; a circumstance which proves that the great reformer had no serious objection to the prelacy of the new model, considered in itself, but solely to the peculiarities of the case, deemed so worthy of his displeasure. He blamed, too, the accumulation of several duties in the hands of one man; for it had been resolved to continue to Douglas his academical superintendence, as well as the momentous charge with which he had been lately invested ¹.

Following up the provisions of the late agreement, James Boyd was appointed to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow; Andrew Paton was nominated to Dunkeld; Andrew Graham to Dumblain; and George Douglas to Moray. Most of the other sees were already filled. Gordon was Bishop of Galloway, Bothwell titular Bishop of Orkney; Stuart of Caithness; Hamilton of Argyle; Campbell of Brechin;

¹ If we may trust to the manuscript Diary of James Melville, we must believe that, in the General Assembly held at St. Andrew's, in March 1571, Knox not only entered a protest against the election of Douglas, but also "opposed himself directly to the making of Bishops." Such testimony, however, ought to be received with caution, it being an undoubted fact, that several presbyterian writers have laboured strenuously to represent, not only the distinguished person now alluded to, but even the Assembly at Leith, as hostile to episcopacy, which nevertheless they both sanctioned and introduced.

and Carsewell of the Isles. None of these last were episcopally consecrated, except Gordon of Galloway, and some of them were not even in priest's orders ; and yet they all acted with consent of the Assembly, and in conjunction with the old superintendents, who, as long as they lived, retained the name, and office, and exercised such branches of prelatical power as had been committed to them ¹.

The year 1572 witnessed the death both of Lord Mar, the Regent, and of John Knox, the prime leader of the Scottish Reformation. The Earl appears to have been a mild and conscientious ruler. He was a rare instance, in that rude and mercenary age, of a nobleman in the possession of power, using it solely for the public good, and without any respect to private revenge or family aggrandisement. During the short period he guided the helm of affairs, he laboured to compose the factions which distracted his country, and to counteract, as far as was possible, the insidious policy of Elizabeth, who pursued her objects, in regard to the government of Scotland, by fomenting the animosities of the two great bodies of statesmen, whose affections were divided between Queen Mary and her son. His attempt to place the interests of the Church on a firm basis, acknowledged by the law, was another proof of the patriotic feelings by which he was animated ; and in no respect, perhaps, is his untimely death more to be lamented, than as it frustrated the hopes of the more moderate party, who had begun to influence the course of ecclesiastical proceedings.

¹ Spotswood, p. 261. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 204.

The character of Knox has already appeared in his actions, not less than in the spirit of those laws and institutions which were established under his auspices. On every occasion, he presented himself as a bold uncompromising person, who had formed his resolutions with the utmost determination; who esteemed lightly the views and interests of others; who had the most entire confidence in his own judgment; and who was disposed to trample on every obstacle which intervened between him and the full accomplishment of his purposes. That he was vain and ambitious is proved by many incidents in his life, especially by his personal message to the Queen Regent, at a time when her Majesty was scarcely aware of his existence. His letter to the same Princess, too, breathes the bitterest spirit of offended dignity. Conscious of great vigour and no ordinary talent, he rejoiced in bearing alone the burden of the reformed cause, and in contemplating his vocation as the chosen champion of the true faith¹.

Though the Scottish reformer may be justly charged with vanity and ambition, there yet remains much in his character, viewed as a man struggling for the interests of truth, which merits the highest approbation. As the most exquisite music results from a happy combination of discords, so the minds which exert the greatest influence on society are not unusually composed of qualities, that, if taken singly, are both hateful and pernicious. No one ever became great or useful, without being stirred, in some degree, by that generous and expansive selfishness,

¹ M'Crie's Knox, vol. ii. p. 398.

which derives its gratification from the applause of the world ; and the history of the Church affords abundant proof, that even the sacred enclosure of religion does not exclude the operation of a principle so active in all the other departments of human pursuit. Nor does Knox at any time affect an utter disregard to secular concerns, especially the wealth and power of the body of which he was long the head. On the contrary, his voice is constantly heard, either demanding the patrimony which he had conquered from the Roman Catholics, or pouring out anathemas against those by whom it was seized. He was not inclined to see the Reformed Church go on a warfare at her own charges. But he fought in the ranks, with others, who, while they were less sincere in their professions of evangelical zeal, darted towards the prize with a steadier eye and a stronger hand. At length his proud spirit was broken by the indifference and contempt with which his remonstrances were received ; and his last efforts were spent in warning his brethren against the merciless devourers of the Church, and in depicting the doom which awaited the aristocratical robbers, for their deceit, obstinacy, and sacrilege.

To assert that Knox was intolerant, is only to ascribe to him a property, which, in his days, was common to all denominations of Christians. But he was also stern, and entirely destitute of that sympathy, which shrinks from deep suffering, and more particularly from the shedding of blood. His counsel was always in favour of severe measures. Whether in church or in synod, he was urgent in his demands to have the penal laws rigidly enforced

against the Catholics ; to have them spoiled of their goods, driven from their country, or deprived of their lives. When Cardinal Beaton sunk under the hands of murderers, he turned the details into sport ; and when David Rizzio was poignarded in the chamber of his sovereign, he consented that the assassins should be prayed for, as men who were suffering banishment in a righteous cause. But the savage rage that he fostered against the unhappy Mary, and the eagerness with which he thirsted for her blood, are still more revolting in a character, whose pretensions to the purest spirit of the Gospel were so loud and constant. In a prayer which he used after the death of the Regent Murray, he thus expressed himself : “ O Lord, if thy mercy prevent us not, we cannot escape just condemnation, for that Scotland hath spared, and England hath maintained, the life of that most wicked woman. Oppose thy power, O Lord, to the pride of that cruel murderer of her own husband ; confound her faction, and their subtile enterprises, of what state and condition soever they be ; and let them and the world know, that thou art a God who can deprehend the wicked in their own wisdom, and the proud in the imagination of their wicked hearts, to their everlasting confusion ¹. ”

¹ M'Crie's Knox, vol. ii. p. 398. It may be observed, that Knox takes the guilt of Queen Mary for granted, and calls her “ that cruel murderer of her own husband.” We may reply in the words used by the editor of Bannatyne's Journal :—“ Mary's participation in the murder of her husband is a matter of indifference to me, excepting that for the sake of terminating a controversy where so much acrimony has been displayed, I could wish her guilt was satisfactorily ascertained, or, for the credit

The reputation of Knox has derived no advantage from his literary productions, especially from his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*. It is indeed doubtful to what extent he is responsible for the work which passes under his name, as it is admitted on all hands, that the volume contains many interpolations, introduced by the persons who prepared it for the public eye. But judging of its merits by a reference even to the purest editions, it will be found to present numerous examples of coarseness, scurrility, passion, and vindictive malice, as little consistent with good taste as with Christian feeling. Glowing with zeal, and animated with the most inflexible determination, he gave an unrestrained utterance to every sentiment that rose in his heart. Impartial in his wrath, he attacked with equal fury all classes of men, who were either indifferent to the new light of truth, or devoted to the darkness of ancient error. His vituperation had no respect of persons, from the sovereign on the throne, whom he described as a "child of Satan" and the victim of wilful blindness, down to the "rascal multitude," who, on some occasions, proved rather too officious in reducing his principles to practice, and who were made to bear the blame which he found it convenient, for a time, to lay on their undiscerning heads.

of human nature, that she might be proved innocent. Certain it is, however, that the unremitting exertions of two centuries have been unable to fix the crime upon her." *Preface*, p. xiv.

Unchecked by the ordinary considerations which dictate mildness to those who undertake the delicate task of withdrawing weak but conscientious minds from the dominion of prejudice, he demanded an instant relinquishment of all former belief, though rooted in the affections by the tenderest associations, and an immediate adoption of the tenets which he himself was pleased to propound; thundering forth, in case of refusal, all the curses which, in the Divine law, are pointed against those who worship idols, and deny God in their hearts. In short, inspecting, without the slightest bias, the lineaments of his public character, as exhibited in his own writings, we see the picture of a bold unyielding man; possessing qualities well fitted to raise him to eminence in a time of civil and religious commotion; displaying the powers of a popular eloquence which few were able to resist; and manifesting, on all occasions, a degree of hardihood, which impressed his friends with awe, and his adversaries with terror. But we look in vain for any tokens of that charity which thinketh no evil; which beareth all things; which suffereth long and is kind; which vaunteth not itself; and doth not behave itself unseemly¹.

¹ Having hazarded these observations on the character of Knox, it becomes us to insert his own defence, said to have been pronounced by him on his death-bed: "I am not ignorant that many have blamed, and yet do blame, my too great anger and severity, but God knows that I never in my heart hated those against whom I thundered God's judgments; I did only hate their sins, and laboured with all my power to bring them to Christ. That I spared none, even in the most exalted

condition, arose from the fear of my God, who had placed me in the ministry, and who, I knew, would bring me to an account." *Calderwood*, p. 59. *Bannatyne's Journal*, p. 427. *Cook*, vol. i. p. 200.

Perhaps it may be asserted, that a more amiable, modest, and temperate person, would have proved less suitable for the office which he undertook to fill. He lived in a storm, and therefore required the wings of the eagle, and the courage of the lion, as well as the wisdom of the man.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE DEATH OF KNOX TO THE MEETING OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT DUNDEE IN THE YEAR
1580.

The more rigid ministers not reconciled to hierarchical titles—New polity works well—Pre-eminence of Bishops confined to provincial synods—Their conduct reviewed by General Assembly—Unfair dealing of the Regent Morton—His harshness to superintendents—Resolution of Assembly—Alarm of Popery—Acts in favour of the Reformed Church—Return of Andrew Melville—His dexterous management—Remark of Drury—Conclusions of Committee appointed by Assembly—State of parties—Melville perseveres—Bishops attached to particular congregations—Proposal of the Earl of Morton—Second Book of Discipline—Motives of the Regent—The Bishops annoyed—Reply of the Archbishop of Glasgow—Resolute conduct of ministers—Illegal proceedings of General Assembly—Book of Discipline presented to the King and Council—General fast imposed—The ratification postponed—Continued aggression of the ministers—They abolish the title of Bishop—Firmness of the Archbishop of Glasgow—Base conduct of Melville—Alleged abuses of Episcopal order—Letter from the King—Disregarded by Presbyterians—Fears of Popery—Acts in favour of Reformation—First edition of Bible in Scotland—Negative Confession—Assembly at Dundee—Resolutions establishing the Presbyterian model.

THE death of Knox forms an era in the history of the Scottish Church. Without, perhaps, possessing very distinct views, either in regard to the principles

on which the Protestant doctrines are really founded, or in relation to the tenets that afterwards bore a conspicuous place in numerous works on ecclesiastical polity, he must, nevertheless, be acknowledged to have stamped the character of his powerful mind on the transactions which marked the close of Mary's reign, and the accession of her infant son. •

He had lived long enough to see that his scheme of Church government, the "devout imagination," as it was called in derision by some of the nobles, was unsuitable to the crisis in which his country was placed; and the candour with which he appears to have admitted its defects, or, at least, to have acceded to a modification of its structure, does honour to his memory. But it cannot be affirmed, that all the ministers coincided in the opinions entertained by the leading members of their society, that such a change had really become expedient, if not in some degree unavoidable. On the contrary, a repugnance, by no means equivocal, to the titles and distinctions of the hierarchy, was manifested by some of the more rigid among the preachers; who, although they were willing to allow, that the words Bishop and Superintendent were only different names for the same office, could not divest their minds of the fears and suspicions which had long haunted them in regard to the revival of Popery.

Notwithstanding these unpleasant emotions, it was, however, soon discovered, that the interests of religion were no less secure under the episcopal regimen, properly so called, than when protected by visitors of kirks and commissioners of provinces. The General Assembly acted in perfect harmony with the

Ordinaries of dioceses; recommending such measures as they deemed advantageous for the Church, and tendering their counsel on all matters of unusual difficulty. For example, in the year 1573, this national convocation ordains that the Bishops shall proceed to excommunicate those who, after due admonition, shall continue to receive excommunicated persons. The same Assembly instructs the prelates to convene before them all such individuals as shall be found suspected of consulting with witches; and, finding them guilty, to compel them to make public repentance. Nay, in 1574, the ministers in a body solicit the Lord Regent, the Earl of Morton, "to provide qualified persons for vacant bishoprics¹."

But it must not be concealed that the authority of the Bishops was confined to their several districts and synodical meetings, for, in the General Assembly, they had no official pre-eminence over simple presbyters. As a proof of this, it may be mentioned that, in the first meeting which was held, after the modified episcopacy was introduced, a parochial clergyman was chosen to preside, although the Archbishop was present².

(1573.) The accession of the Earl of Morton to the regency promised stability to the Church, by the strength which was thereby conferred upon the party attached to the young King, whose interests it had now become customary to identify with the success of the Reformation. But the avarice which clung to his lordship's spirit, and obscured in him many bril-

¹ Fundamental Charter, p. 215.

² Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 61.

Want intellectual qualities soon disappointed the hopes of the clergy. He induced them to relinquish their right to the thirds of ecclesiastical revenues, which had been secured to them by several Acts of Parliament, upon the promise that he would make their stipends payable in the parishes where they officiated, instead of compelling them to wait for their share out of the general fund. But as soon as he obtained the command of their income, he invented various pretexts for appropriating a large portion of it to his own use. He threw several parishes into one, which he placed under the pastoral care of a single minister; giving only a trifling allowance for the performance of this accumulated duty. He is accused, moreover, of treating with unpardonable harshness the respected superintendents, who were viewed as the fathers of the Protestant establishment in Scotland. When they found it necessary to make solicitation to him for the payment of their salaries, he contemptuously replied that, as Bishops were now introduced, any other superior order was useless. He accordingly diminished the sum, which, in name of stipend, had been constantly allotted to them, from the very first institution of their office¹.

(1574.) The circumstance now mentioned accounts for the interest and attachment which revived at this period in the breasts of the clergy, in behalf of that venerable body of men. Three of them, Erskine of Dun, Spotswood, and Winram, insulted by the bitter speech of the Regent, appeared in the Assembly held March 1574, and entreated the Church to accept

¹ Spotswood, p. 272. Collier, vol. ii. p. 548.

their resignation, as their services were no longer esteemed necessary. To this proposal the ministers unanimously refused to accede; on the contrary, they proceeded to enact that the Bishops should not perform any part of the episcopal office, in the districts over which superintendents had been appointed, without their special consent and permission.

This regulation, which was obviously suggested by the injudicious conduct of the Regent, has been appealed to as a proof that the Church was still inclined, notwithstanding their acceptance of the new model, to prefer superintendents to bishops. Impartially considered, it will not support that inference. To those who have no hypothesis to maintain, nor predilections to gratify, it can appear in no other light than that of a generous effort to vindicate the rank and authority of an order of ecclesiastical magistrates, whose merits had been undervalued, and whose emoluments had been unjustly withdrawn¹.

At the same time, and originating in a similar source, an act was revived, providing that "although sundry churches were appointed to one man, yet he should reside at one church, which was to be properly his; giving such attention to the others, as the bishop or superintendent should think proper, and as far as it was not inconsistent with his duty to his own parish, which he was by no means to neglect."

The indifference, indeed, shown by the Earl of Morton towards the clergy is as unaccountable as it

¹ Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined, p. 210. Cook, vol. i. p. 237, and note.

was pernicious to the country and to himself. His proceedings on this occasion certainly laid the foundation of the numerous evils which, at a subsequent period, interrupted the peace, and retarded the prosperity of Great Britain. "He had promoted the introduction into the Church of a modified and excellent form of episcopacy; he had done so from the persuasion that he would thereby secure the tranquillity of the nation, by directing to the support of government the strong influence which the preachers had over the minds and the principles of the people. He had it now in his power effectually to accomplish an object of such evident and such vast importance. Had he availed himself of this favourable situation to endow the bishoprics with suitable revenues, and to extricate the inferior clergy from their pecuniary difficulties, he would have completely gained the affections of the reformed teachers; he would have satisfied them that the government, with spotless honour, had evinced its attachment to the Reformation; he would have destroyed every motive for agitating new plans of ecclesiastical polity; the principles upon which the episcopal jurisdiction rested, would have been rendered daily more acceptable to the community; and there would, in all human probability, have resulted such union and harmony among the different orders of the state as would have prevented those dreadful political convulsions, which, though ultimately most beneficial, long inflicted the heaviest evils upon the inhabitants of Scotland¹."

¹ We have here preferred the language of a Presbyterian

(1573.) The fears and jealousies in respect to Popery, which had never ceased to affect the Scottish people, were not a little augmented by the horrible massacre of the Protestants that had recently taken place in the French capital. The Council of Trent had avowed the necessity of rooting out all Lutherans, Huguenots, and Calvinists; and such frightful tenets, illustrated by the conduct of the Parisian government, could not fail to produce in all reformed countries the greatest agitation and alarm. No sooner had the intelligence reached Edinburgh than a petition was presented to the Council, praying that measures might be instantly adopted against the cruel and treasonable conspiracies of the papists. In consequence of this address, a proclamation was immediately issued by Government, stating that, "in respect of the great murders, and more than beastly cruelty put in execution in divers parts of Europe against the true Christians within the same, proceeding no doubt from the unhappy, devilish, and terrible Council of Trent, and pretended not only to be executed in foreign countries, but to be followed with the same or greater cruelty in the realm of Scotland, it was desirable that a convention of all zealous Protestants, of whatever political sentiments, should be held, for warding off so great a danger." A period was fixed for the meeting here announced, but, owing to the animosities which still prevailed, it was not numerously attended. Some of the more zealous

Divine, who is less blinded by prejudice than any former historian of the Church of Scotland. See Dr. Cook, vol. i. pp. 237, 238.

friends of the Reformation, however, assembled in October 1573, when various resolutions, describing the perils which threatened the new Church, and the expedients whereby they might be averted, were drawn up and submitted to the Regent ¹.

(1573.) But, on the main points comprehended in these deliberations, the Parliament had already anticipated the zeal of the evangelical professors. At a meeting of the States, in the month of January, a number of acts were passed, having for their object the confirmation of the Protestant faith, and the punishment of such as should persevere in their dissent from the reformed Church. It was rendered obligatory on all persons holding ecclesiastical offices, that they should subscribe the confession sanctioned by the Convention of 1560; a law which was enforced by the penalty of deprivation from all benefices. By another statute, it was declared that those who were hostile to the true religion, should not be held faithful subjects to the King ².

(1575.) The episcopal form of government, established under the authority of the Regent Mar, which, though extremely maimed and imperfect, considered as an apostolical institution, would, in the course of time, have superseded the still more anomalous polity introduced by the First Book of Discipline, was soon doomed to experience a formidable opposition. In the year 1574, the celebrated Andrew Melville, who had spent some time at Geneva in the

¹ Bannatyne's Journal, pp. 406—411.

² Calderwood's MS. History, vol. ii., as quoted by Dr. Cook, vol. i. p. 212.

society of Theodore Beza, returned to Scotland. During his residence in that city, he had imbibed deeply those prejudices against the old ecclesiastical regimen, which, first partially entertained by Calvin, were still farther encouraged by the doctrines of his distinguished successor. But his sentiments on this head not being generally known, his erudition recommended him so far to the prelates of the Scottish Church, that they invited him to his native country; holding out, it may be presumed, the promise of an official appointment suitable to his talents and reputation. No sooner, accordingly, had he arrived, than he was solicited to settle at St. Andrew's, at that period, the centre of learning and influence; but the Archbishop of Glasgow, who was desirous to have so able a scholar invested with the care of the University in the latter city, prevailed on him to accept the situation of Principal ¹.

The patronage thus bestowed upon him by the dignitaries of the Established Church suggests certain reflections, not very flattering either to his honesty or to their penetration. No doubt now remains that Melville, from the first moment of his return to Scotland, had determined to use all means for accomplishing the overthrow of the prelatical constitution, and for introducing his favourite presbytery. In a letter to Beza, written in 1579, he says, "We have not ceased these *five years* to fight against pseudo-episcopacy;" an interval which carries back his exertions almost to the very day on which he

¹ Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, pp. 1—5. Spotswood, p. 275. Calderwood, p. 66.

accepted the office of Principal under the auspices of the Archbishop. There cannot be any doubt that this benevolent personage must have believed that he was extending his favour to a man, not unfriendly at least to the existing order of things ; and, considering the violent and impetuous temper of Melville, it will be acknowledged that, on the important occasion now mentioned, he exercised more than his usual self-restraint. To resume an official station under an establishment of which he was actually meditating the destruction, proves that he possessed no inconsiderable control over those remonstrances of honour and conscience, which prevent ordinary characters from eating the bread of a master whom they intend to betray. It has been observed, with much simplicity, “ that he at first acted with great prudence ; avoiding whatever might shock those whom he was desirous to influence. Accordingly, although from the time of his arrival in Scotland, he never lost sight of his design to introduce the presbyterian form of ecclesiastical polity which he had venerated at Geneva, he did not incautiously disclose his intentions ; and even after he began to carry them into execution, he displayed a dexterity of management which should qualify those accounts of him which his enemies have assiduously transmitted to posterity ¹.”

(1575.) Having secured for himself sufficient

¹ Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined, p. 217. Cook. i. 243. It is the latter author, who gives Melville honour for the “ dexterity of his management”—a very ambiguous compliment surely, when considered with a reference to the circumstances in which he so “ cautiously” concealed his sentiments.

ground on which to lay the foundation of his new scheme, Melville resolved to introduce it to the notice of his brethren, at an Assembly held in the month of August. Unwilling, however, to commence in his own person a discussion, which to many might appear invidious, and of which the issue was extremely doubtful, he induced Mr. John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, to undertake the task. This individual is described as "a sound-hearted man, far from all dissimulation, open, professing what he thought, earnest and zealous in his cause whatever it might be, but too credulous, and easily to be imposed on." These qualities rendered him very fit to be a tool in the hands of one who was master of the art, so important in political and religious broils, of acting vigorously without too freely disclosing his sentiments, or making known his precise intentions. In those days, the business of the supreme court usually began by an inquiry into the lives, doctrine, and diligence of the bishops and superintendents during the period which had elapsed from the former meeting of the Assembly; and it was when this stated investigation was about to take place, that Mr. Dury rose up and protested "that the trial of the Bishops might not prejudge the opinions and reasons which he and other brethren of his mind had to propose against the office and name of a bishop¹."

¹ Petrie, 385. Spotswood, 275. Fundamental Charter, p. 220. Calderwood, p. 68. In relation to Dury, it is stated by Bishop Sage, that he was "a man who thought no shame to acknowledge his error when he was convinced of it. For so it was that

An opportunity being thus created, Melville, as if he had been entirely ignorant of any design to enter upon such a subject, supported with much eloquence and talent, the views which had just been suggested. He began by commending the zeal of the brother who had started the question, and followed it up with a long discourse on the flourishing state of the Church at Geneva, and also on the opinions entertained by Calvin and Theodore Beza relative to ecclesiastical government; concluding with the assertion, "that none ought to be office-bearers in the Church whose titles were not found in the book of God; that, although the title of Bishop was found in the Scripture, yet it was not to be taken in the sense in which it was commonly understood, there being no superiority allowed by Christ among ministers; he being the only lord of his Church, and all his servants placed in the same degree, and having the like power; and, finally, that the corruptions which had crept into the state of bishops were so great that,

when, after many years' experience, he had satisfied himself that parity had truly proved the parent of confusion, and disappointed all his expectations; and when, through age and sickness, he was not able in person to attend the General Assembly, anno 1600, he gave commission to some brethren to tell them, as from him, that *there was a necessity of restoring the ancient government of the Church.*" Fund. Charter, p. 219.

It would appear that Dury was an active partizan in more than one sense of the term, and had distinguished himself by his martial valour during the civil war. "For stoutness and zeal in the guid cause, he was mickle renowned and talked of. For the gown was no sooner off, and the Bible out of hands fra the kirk, than on gaid (went) the corslet, and fangid (prepared) was the hatchet, and to the fields." *Melville's Diary*, p. 28.

unless they were removed, it could not go well with the Church, nor could religion be long preserved in purity ¹.

The Assembly, many of whom applauded this speech, appointed a committee, consisting of six members, to hold a conference on the question proposed, and to make a formal report. Three of these, Lindsay, Hay, and Row, maintained the lawfulness of the episcopal function; while the other three, Melville, Lawson, and Craig, were inclined to the presbyterian form of government. After sundry meetings, and, what Spotswood calls "long disceptation," the commissioners presented to the Assembly the following conclusions:—

1. That they did not consider it expedient at present to answer the question proposed, that is, to decide upon the scriptural authority for episcopacy; but recommended that if any bishop was chosen who had not the qualities required by the word of God, he should be tried by the General Assembly, and deposed from his office.

2. That they judged the name of a bishop to be common to all ministers who had the charge of a particular flock: And that, by the word of God, his chief function consisted in the preaching of the word, the ministration of the sacraments, and the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, with consent of the elders.

3. That from among the ministers some might be chosen to oversee and visit such reasonable bounds,

¹ Spotswood, 275. Petrie, 386. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 211.

besides their own flock, as the General Assembly might appoint.

4. That the ministers so elected might in those bounds appoint preachers, with the advice of the ministers of that province, and consent of the flock to which they were to be admitted.

5. That they might suspend ministers from the exercise of their office upon reasonable causes, with the consent of the ministers of the bounds ¹.

The decision conveyed by these articles leaves the main question unaffected; that, namely, which respects the lawfulness of the episcopal office, viewed in reference to its primitive institution. It is obvious, too, that on this, as well as on many former occasions, the unpopularity of the title, bishop, had no small weight on the minds of those who maintained, and of those who impugned, the scriptural authority of the function in its highest sense. The term had already been pronounced offensive and scandalous, and was only retained because it alone was recognized by law, as the designation appropriated to the chief rulers of the Church under the endowed establishment. Prelacy, considered in the abstract, was not condemned either as inexpedient, or as opposed to the usage of the earliest and purest period of Christian history. On the contrary, it was admitted as a suitable arrangement that "from among the

¹ Spotswood, 275, 276. This author relates, that there were six bishops and two superintendents present, who "did not so much as open their mouths in defence of their office and calling." It is difficult to discover any good reason for this taciturnity on the part of the prelates, which gave a very great advantage to Melville and his adherents.

ministers some might be chosen to oversee and visit," provided the bounds were reasonable, and the consent of the General Assembly not refused.

It must, however, be apparent that this compromise between the two parties could not be of long duration. Both had yielded points, the relinquishment of which was manifestly inconsistent with their avowed principles; and, consequently, each must have been on the watch to recover the ground that was lost, and to advance their pretensions on a firmer basis. Nor could there be much doubt as to the result of the contest. The popular cause, being seldom impeded by nice considerations of conflicting interests or distant effects, is usually pushed forward with violence, even when men assume the guise of argument; while it is impelled from without by a force which the leaders themselves in vain attempt to resist. Besides, the spirit of the civil government had already proved itself in a great degree incompatible with the existence of a regular episcopacy. The woe denounced upon the land whose king is a child, had been deeply felt in Scotland. The regal authority was suspended; and the executive power, placed in the hands of a partizan, was exercised, in most cases, agreeably to the pleasure of the multitude, whence he derived his principal support. On the one hand, there was a rude and fierce democracy, recently called into life by the intrigues of faction; and, on the other, a divided aristocracy, whose strength was so equally balanced, that the dominant party could only maintain their influence in the nation, by making frequent concessions to the popular will. The episcopal form, therefore, which,

wherever the Church is allied with the State, coalesces most fitly with a monarchy, could not possibly enjoy any favour during the commotions that marked the early days of James ¹.

Notwithstanding these unpropitious circumstances, it is manifest that the Assembly had not yet any fixed intention of departing from the terms of the Agreement concluded at Leith. As a proof of this, it may be mentioned that, at their meeting in the preceding year, the Archbishop of Glasgow was called to the chair as Moderator. Even during their sitting in 1575, they submitted to the consideration of the Lord Regent several articles on ecclesiastical matters,

¹ We have been occasionally amused with the earnestness displayed by Dr. Cook to establish in the mind of his readers a high opinion of the loyalty which distinguished the Scottish reformers in the reign of Mary and of her son James. They had, however, deposed, on the authority of the preachers, the Queen Regent, and usurped the government; they had legislated for the whole nation without the knowledge or consent of their sovereign; they had driven the unfortunate daughter of James V. from the throne, compelled her by the pains of imprisonment and the fear of death, to resign her crown; and finally had reduced her to the hard necessity of flying from her native dominions, in the hope of enjoying life and liberty in a more civilized realm. Having raised to the diadem an infant of a year old, and vested the supreme rule in one of their own body, they, no doubt, began to speak of the duty of subjects to their lawful kings; because, in the altered position of affairs, submission to the pageant prince was, in fact, acquiescence in their own sway, while the slightest reluctance to acknowledge his right to govern, was construed as rebellion against their interests. In a word, during the time of the Four Regents, loyalty to the boy James meant nothing more than the badge of party—the watch-word of the prevailing faction.

and among others the following, "for planting and preaching the word through the whole realm." "It is desired," say they, "that so many ministers as may be had, who are yet unplaced, may be received, as well in the country, to relieve the charge of them who have many kirks, as otherwise throughout the whole realm, with superintendents or commissioners within those bounds where bishops are not, and to help such bishops as have too great charges¹."

(1576.) But the party led by Melville, though they had not obtained a majority among their brethren, found their endeavours accompanied with so much success as to encourage them to proceed in their attacks on episcopacy. In an Assembly held at Edinburgh in the month of April, they proposed for consideration the following question, namely, "Whether Bishops, as they were then in Scotland, had their function warranted by the word of God?" The meeting, however, without giving a direct answer, satisfied themselves with a renewed approval of the articles presented to them at their former sitting.

It was resolved, notwithstanding, that Bishops should be obliged to take the charge of particular congregations, the duties of which they were to perform like parochial ministers. Nor did matters long rest at this point. The Regent, irritated at some acts of discipline adopted against Paton, the Ordinary of Dunkeld, sent a message to the Assembly, requesting to be informed whether they were willing to adhere to the polity agreed upon at Leith; and,

¹ Petrie, p. 385. Fundamental Charter, p. 226.

if not, desiring them to settle some form of Church government by which they would abide. No proposal could have given greater satisfaction to the innovators, who immediately appointed a committee of the clergy, among whom was Melville himself, to prepare a constitution, embracing such changes, in the structure and jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical body, as might meet the wishes of the new race of reformers¹.

The fruit of their labours appeared in the production of a scheme which is well known under the title of the Second Book of Discipline. A considerable period was spent in its composition, owing, it is probable, to obstacles arising from without rather than to any material difference of opinion among the individuals to whose zeal and learning it was entrusted. So loose, indeed, were the notions of the Episcopal divines in those days on the subject of Church polity, that, so far from assuming the ground of apostolical institution as the basis of their argument, they seem not to have carried their views beyond the principle of expediency, or to have aimed at a higher sanction than what might be conferred by the legislature. It will, accordingly, be found that they allowed their opponents to occupy the strong-hold of Divine right, and to claim for presbyterian equality the warrant of inspired precept as well as of scriptural example.

But the friends of Melville, though they continued to gain strength as well in the Assembly as in the country at large, did not for some years find them-

¹ Spotswood, p. 276. Calderwood, p. 70. Collier, ii. 558.

selves in a capacity to overthrow the prelatical constitution. In the meanwhile, they adopted various measures for depressing the power and mortifying the feelings of the dignified clergy. For example, when Adamson was nominated by the Regent to the archbishopric of St. Andrew's, the Chapter was commanded by the General Assembly not to elect him, because he refused to submit to the examination and test which the latter body had thought proper to impose. Even after his inauguration, they issued a commission to certain of their members to summon their primate before them; to make inquiry into all the proceedings connected with his entry upon the high office with which he was invested; and, in the interval, to prohibit him from visiting his diocese until he should obtain leave from the supreme ecclesiastical court¹.

An attempt was made, too, about the same period, to enforce on the Archbishop of Glasgow the regulation lately adopted for obliging all bishops to undertake the pastoral charge of a particular congregation. His reply is worthy of being inserted, because the effect produced by it upon the Assembly seems to warrant the conclusion that, if the prelates had acted with more vigour and consistency, they would not only have been subjected to fewer attacks, but even regarded with greater respect. He reminded the ministers that he had entered to his bishopric according to the Agreement at Leith, which was to stand

¹ Petrie, p. 390. Calderwood MS. p. 76. Fundamental Charter, p. 253. Spotswood, p. 276.

in force during the King's minority, or until a Parliament should determine otherwise ; that he had given his oath to the King's Majesty in things pertaining to his Highness ; that he was afraid he might incur the guilt of perjury, and be called in question by his sovereign, if he should alter the constitution of the country, by changing any thing belonging to the order, manner, privileges, or power of his bishopric. But, that it might appear how willing he was to exercise the gifts, wherewith God had endowed him, for the good of the Church, he should teach ordinarily at Glasgow, when he had his residence in that city ; and when he removed to his dwelling in the sherifffdom of Ayr, he should do the same in any parish they might be pleased to appoint ; still, however, refusing to bind himself permanently to any one congregation, or to prejudge, in any degree, the jurisdiction he had received at his admission to the episcopate ¹.

(1578.) The clergy did not press compliance to any greater extent ; being seasonably called to reflection in regard to the uncertain ground which they still continued to occupy. The law which sanctioned episcopacy was not yet repealed ; and acts of Assembly, they were well aware, could have no power when applied to undermine the foundations of an Establishment confirmed by legal authority. In these circumstances they resolved to pursue a line of conduct, at once more safe and effectual, and which was recom-

¹ Petrie, p. 388. Fundamental Charter, 251. Spotswood, p. 276.

mended to them by the success with which it had been attended on former occasions. They continued to declaim against all hierarchical distinctions, as one of the main devices of Popery for enthralling the human mind, corrupting the doctrines of the Gospel, and, above all, for pampering the luxurious indolence of selfish churchmen. Their prospect of ultimate triumph, too, was not a little brightened by the retirement of Morton from the regency; for this nobleman, though he opened up the path in which they were now advancing, did not regard with a very friendly eye the rapidity of their progress towards clerical despotism.

Soon after the young King charged himself with the cares of government, an Assembly was held, of which Melville was chosen Moderator. It was enacted without delay, by a great majority, that, for the future, bishops, and all others exercising any ecclesiastical function, should be called by their own names, or simply denominated "brethren." It was thereafter resolved that no bishop should be elected before the meeting of the next Assembly; and the several diocesan chapters were accordingly forbidden, under the pain of perpetual deprivation from office, to take any step towards the choice of an Ordinary¹.

¹ The resolution, as given by Calderwood and Petrie, is thus expressed: "Forasmuch as there is great corruption in the state of Bishops as they are presently set up in this realm, whereunto the Assembly would provide some stay in time coming, so far as they may, to the effect that farther corruption may be bridled, the Assembly hath concluded," &c.

These proceedings, which were directly contrary to law, indicated a full determination to extirpate the episcopal order, with or without the concurrence of the civil government; the members having, in fact, assumed the exercise of legislative authority, and avowed the hazardous principle that, in all things which concerned the Church, they were completely independent of the sovereign. They insinuated, too, that the persons who surrounded the King and enjoyed his confidence, were attached to the Popish faith; especially the Earls of Athol and Caithness and the Lord Ogilvie, the first of whom being Chancellor of the realm. The Assembly therefore insisted that these noblemen should be compelled to subscribe the articles of the reformed kirk, or be subjected to the full weight of spiritual censure.

The Book of Discipline having been sometime prepared, a resolution was taken to present it to the King and Council; and in order to kindle the zeal of the people, which, from time to time, appears to have become inert, a fast, to be observed during a whole week, was imposed on the nation. The reasons assigned for this long period of abstinence and prayer were, “the corruptions which prevailed among all classes of men; the coldness of a great part of the professors of religion; the increase of fearful sins and enormities, domestic sedition and divisions; the bloody conclusions of the cruel Councils of that Roman beast, tending to the extermination of true religion; and that God of his mercy would bless the King’s Highness and his Government, and put it into his heart and the hearts of the estates of Parliament, not only to make and

establish good laws for the government of the realm, but also to establish such a polity and discipline in the Church as is craved in the word of God, and is conceived and penned already, and to be presented to his Highness and Council¹."

There is no small skill displayed in the document now quoted. The cruelty and corruptions of the Roman Church, and the dangers with which the true religion was menaced, are ingeniously contrasted with the benefits of the polity, "conceived and penned already," which was about to be laid before his Majesty. But the King's advisers thought not so favourably of the new discipline as its authors expected; assigning various reasons for postponing the ratification of it till a more convenient period, and expressing a hope that certain conflicting interests might in the meanwhile be more fully reconciled.

(June, 1578.) The repulse which, on this occasion, they sustained from the Council, cannot appear surprising when it is mentioned that, in an Assembly held immediately before they presented their new Scheme of Church government, they had made another attack on the established polity, in the persons of its chief ministers. At a former meeting, as has been already stated, they prohibited the election of bishops for a certain time; but now they enacted that such election should be forbidden for ever, or until the corruption of the prelatical estate should be utterly taken away; ordaining, also, that the bishops

¹ Calderwood, p. 80. Collier, vol. ii. p. 560.

who were already recognized, should entirely submit themselves to the General Assembly, under the penalty of excommunication. Such steps, after the legal sanction of the Book of Discipline, though they might have been accounted severe, would at least have been regular; but taken, as they actually were taken, in defiance of law and of the civil government, they could hardly fail to excite anger and suspicion in the breasts of the noblemen who conducted the administration under the young king¹.

In October, the same year, the Assembly having convened for the third time within six months, complained bitterly that their new model had not been ratified by the legislature. But this circumstance did not materially impede the progress of their measures against the bishops and the establishment over which these dignitaries presided. Though perfectly sensible that, as the constitution founded on the Agreement made at Leith was not yet set aside, the episcopal Church enjoyed the countenance of law, and also that the superior prelates were still acknowledged as one of the three estates of Parliament, they nevertheless made haste to abolish the title of bishop, and to expunge it from their records. They summoned the Archbishop of Glasgow, whom they were now pleased to denominate the commissioner for Kyle and Carrick, to submit himself to the Assembly, and lay aside in their presence, the corruptions of his office. Determined not to comply with an injunction at once grossly illegal and unmannerly, he stood on his de-

¹ Petrie, p. 395. Calderwood, MS. Hist. pp. 81, 82.

fence, and delivered with much firmness the following answer: "I understand the name, office, and revenue, given to a bishop to be lawful and allowable, and being elected by the Church and King to be Bishop of Glasgow, I esteem my calling and office lawful, and shall endeavour with all my power to perform the duties required, submitting myself to the judgment of the Church, if I shall be found to offend against what the apostle has prescribed. As to the rent, living, and privileges, granted to me and my successors, I think I may lawfully, and with a good conscience enjoy the same: And for assisting the King with my best service in council and Parliament, as my subjection ties me thereto, so I esteem it no hurt but a benefit to the Church that some of our number should be always present at the making of laws and statutes, wherein, for myself, I neither intend, nor by the grace of God shall ever do any thing, but that which I believe may stand with the purity of the word of God and the good of the Church and country¹."

The rude treatment, however, inflicted on the other bishops, drove him to the resolution of withdrawing from the Assembly. A commission was, therefore, appointed, consisting of Melville, Hay, and some others, with power to urge his subscription to the act, which required the unqualified obedience of the prelates, or, in case of refusal, to proceed against him with spiritual censures.

The authority thus conferred, grateful to the aus-

¹ Spotswood, p. 303. Calderwood, p. 84.

tere and acrimonious spirit which then prevailed, was not allowed to remain long unemployed. Melville, in particular, ceased not to importune his former patron, now fallen into sickness and melancholy, to affix his signature to the illegal deed; threatening him with excommunication if he persisted in what he was pleased to denominate his contumacy. In a moment of weakness, produced by the operation of a fatal malady, the Archbishop was wearied or frightened into compliance, and signed the Act of Assembly; a token of acquiescence, which, although it was wrung from him by the most unjustifiable solicitation, disturbed the tranquillity of his last hours. He was stung to the heart by the ingratitude of Melville, on whom he had conferred much kindness. He had invited him to Glasgow; procured for him the desirable appointment of Principal in the college; and, in other respects, showered favours upon him; and, for all this munificence and liberality, he was repaid with harshness, calumny, and persecution. To consummate his baseness, this disciple of Beza hesitated not to join to professional rigour, insincerity, and dissimulation. "In private," says Spotswood, "and at the Bishop's table—to which he was ever welcome—no man did use him with greater respect, giving him his titles of dignity and honour; but, in the public meetings, where he owed him greatest reverence, he would call him by his own name, and use him most uncivilly."

Few touches are here wanting to complete the delineation of a very unamiable and treacherous character. Episcopal writers have, accordingly, expressed

in strong terms their indignation at the cold-hearted deceit, and systematic double-dealing of Andrew Melville. Nor have the more candid among Presbyterian authors attempted to screen his memory from the reproof to which he exposed himself by his conduct towards Archbishop Boyd. Dr. Cook remarks, that though in private he treated the old man "with the utmost reverence, he in public reviled him; and he invaded his retirement when a feeling mind would have regarded that retirement as sacred." Others indeed have made an effort to vindicate his severity by representing that he did not owe all his preferment to the prelate whose last years he embittered, and that, in discharging a public duty, he did well to sacrifice all personal regards even towards a benefactor. But every one will see how inadequate is this apology when it is considered that Melville, so far from exercising a legal commission, was acting contrary to the law of the land; that the Assembly in this attack on the episcopal body were, in fact, opposing themselves to the civil government of the kingdom; and that the submission to which he succeeded in driving a venerable man, broken down by ill health and disappointment, was quite inconsistent with the privileges of a Church regularly established, the rights of which all its dignitaries had sworn to support¹.

¹ That the reader may see what has been stated in defence of Melville, he is referred to the "Life" of that able polemic, written by Dr. M'Crie, vol. i. pp. 185—188. He may do well, however, to consider whether Calderwood, who is the biogra-

The next attempt at coercion was directed against Adamson, Archbishop of St. Andrew's. As he had not appeared in the Assembly, a deputation in this case was also appointed, consisting of several ministers, who were instructed to receive his answer to their demand for immediate and entire submission, and, if he continued refractory, to inflict upon him the severest punishment that the spiritual power could command. Moreover, as he was required to reform the abuses of the episcopal order in his own person, it was thought proper to specify the particular enormities of which he was called upon to divest himself.

1. That bishops should be content to be ministers and pastors of a flock.

2. That they should not usurp any criminal jurisdiction.

3. That they should not vote in Parliament in name of the Church, unless they had a commission from the General Assembly.

4. That they should not take up, for the mainte-

pher's chief authority, was likely to be better informed than Archbishop Spotswood, who lived at the period in question, and whose father was a superintendent and member of Assembly. Calderwood was not born till the year 1575, and made most of his collections at a subsequent period in a foreign country.

Of Melville, Dr. Robertson remarks, that "he was unacquainted with the arts of life; and being more attentive to the ends which he pursued than to the means which he employed for promoting them, he often defeated laudable designs, by the impetuosity and imprudence with which he carried them on." History, vol. ii. p. 55. See also Cook, vol. i. pp. 291--296; and Spotswood, p. 303.

nance of their ambition and riotousness, the rents, which might sustain many pastors, schools, and poor, but be content with a reasonable portion for discharging their office.

5. That they should not claim to themselves the title of Lords Temporal, neither usurp any civil jurisdiction, whereby they might be withdrawn from their charge.

6. That they should not rule over the particular Elderships, but be subject to the same.

7. That they should not usurp the power of presbyteries; nor, in the last place, take upon them to visit any bounds that were not committed to them by the Church.

It was farther provided that, if the Assembly should afterwards discover any farther corruptions in the estate of bishops, the prelates must consent to have the same removed, according to the word of God, that is, according to the maxims which the presbyterian party had now adopted¹.

Such intemperate proceedings could not fail to attract the notice of the government, and to demand a vigorous interposition of authority. Although their Discipline had not yet received the countenance of the legislature, the Assembly extended their power to the most sacred institutions and offices, as if they had enjoyed a prerogative superior at once to the voice of Parliament and to the will of the King. A letter was, accordingly, addressed to them by his Majesty, entreating that, during his minority and the

¹ Spotswood, p. 303. Calderwood, p. 85.

troubled state of the nation, they would desist from their attacks on the ecclesiastical establishment, and yield due obedience to the crown. He informed them that it was his intention to convoke very soon the three Estates, where their peculiar interests would not be overlooked, and when the discussion of several topics, connected with the Church, would be carefully resumed by able and learned persons ¹.

(1579.) This communication, although received with suitable tokens of respect, did not contribute to allay the apprehensions, or to soothe the irritated zeal of the members. Suspecting their sovereign of the same attachment to episcopacy, which was known to be entertained by some of his councillors, they resolved to persevere in their hostility to the prelates, without any regard to the request and admonition conveyed in the royal address. They renewed the commission, which had been formerly appointed, to prosecute the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, for exercising some parts of the episcopal office without permission from the Assembly. At the same time, to check the increase of popery, a deputation was sent to the King, entreating that he would put a stop to the practice of sending young men to be educated abroad, and adopt means for the discouragement of priests and jesuits. The latter petition was suggested by an open avowal of the old faith, in some districts, by a number of individuals in the better ranks of society; who, although they were Roman Catholics, had been permitted by their religious guides to express an outward

¹ Spotswood, p. 308. Calderwood, p. 86.

conformity to the Protestant creed. It is said that Dispensations were intercepted, granting the ambiguous licence now mentioned ; allowing the Papists “ to promise, swear, subscribe, and do what else should be required of them, so as, in mind, they continued firm, and did use their diligence to advance in secret the Roman faith ¹.”

In a Parliament held towards the close of this year, several acts were passed affecting the ecclesiastical estate ; but, as his Majesty was still greatly displeased at the ministers, he found new reasons for not extending the sanction of law to the Book of Discipline. To moderate their resentment, however, the legislature confirmed all the statutes which had been passed, from the period of the Reformation, for securing the liberty of the true Church ; and it was declared that “ the ministers of the blessed evangel of Jesus Christ, whom God of his mercy has now raised up amongst us, or hereafter shall raise, agreeing with them that now live in doctrine and administration of sacraments, and the people that profess Christ, as he is now offered, and communicate with the holy sacraments according to the Confession of Faith, be the true and holy kirk within this realm.”

With respect to the custom of sending youths to foreign schools, it was enacted by the same Parliament, that none should go without obtaining the royal licence, and binding themselves to remain constant in the profession of the established religion ; and that, upon their return, they should within the

¹ Spotswood, p. 308.

space of twenty days, pass to the Bishop, Superintendent, or Commissioner of the Church, in the place where they reside, and offer to make confession of their belief according to the national creed. The recognition of prelates, in this statute, was ill received by the followers of Melville, who were too sharp-sighted not to perceive in it manifest indications of indifference, or even of aversion to their cause.

This year is remarkable for the publication of the first edition of the Bible in Scotland; and, to render this boon efficacious for the edification of the people, an injunction was issued by authority that all persons having a certain revenue should procure for the use of their families a copy of it, as well as a psalm-book in the vernacular tongue. The latter was the Genevan liturgy, accommodated to the Scottish Church by John Knox and his coadjutors; with a metrical version of the Psalms, which occupied the larger portion of the volume. This Parliament farther distinguished itself by a regulation for the more pious observance of the Sabbath; forbidding under a penalty the holding of fairs, the passing to taverns and alehouses, the playing of games, the using of hand labour, and the wilful remaining from the parish church in the time of sermon and prayers.

(1580.) The ministers, finding that a strong barrier was raised against their progress by the antipathy of the King, and the hostility, more or less openly avowed, of the leading members of his council, had recourse to their usual expedient, and expressed their fears that the court was influenced by emissaries from Rome. To blunt this formidable weapon, James commanded

that a Confession should be composed, in which all the errors of Popery might be explicitly abjured; consenting not only to sign it himself, but to require a similar concurrence from the more influential part of his subjects. In allusion to the dispensations said to have been forwarded from the papal metropolis, the subscribers were made to call upon God to witness their sincerity, and to declare that they did not feign, conceal, nor dissemble, in any manner. From its being confined chiefly to the abjuration of false doctrine, this deed was afterwards known by the name of the "Negative Confession".

But all the expedients devised by his Majesty could not avert the fate of the Church, which he was so desirous to support. His government was weak, and the ministers were strong in the affection or prejudices of the people; and, young as he was, he saw very clearly the dangers with which his throne would be menaced were he to provoke a conflict with the growing power of the Presbyterians. The preachers, more indifferent about the issue of a collision, in which they could count upon the physical energies of the multitude, now resolved, without any farther appeal to Parliament or addresses to the sovereign, to demolish the structure of episcopacy with a strong hand, and to found their own Discipline upon its ruins. In an Assembly, accordingly, held at Dundee in the month of July 1580, they passed the following act, which at once brought the question of Church government to a crisis:—

¹ Spotswood, p. 309.

“ Forasmuch as the office of a bishop, as it is now used and commonly taken within this realm, has no sure warrant, authority, or good ground out of the scriptures of God, but is brought in by the folly and corruption of man’s invention, to the great overthrow of the Church of God, the whole Assembly of the Church in one voice, after liberty given to all men to reason on the matter, none defending this pretended office, finds and declares the same pretended office used and termed as above said, unlawful in itself, as having neither foundation, ground, nor warrant, within the word of God; and ordains that all such persons as hold or shall hold hereafter the said office shall be charged *simpliciter* to demit the same, as an office whereunto they are not called by God, and to desist and cease from all preaching, ministration of the sacraments, or using any way the office of pastors, until they receive admission anew from the General Assembly, under the pain of excommunication, to be used against them if they be found disobedient or contravene this act in any point. And for better execution of the said act, it is statuted that a synodal Assembly shall be held in every province where any usurped bishops are, and begin the 18th day of August next to come, to which they shall be called and summoned by the visitors of the said countries; namely, the Bishop of St. Andrew’s to appear at St. Andrew’s; the Bishop of Aberdeen at Aberdeen; the Bishop of Glasgow at Glasgow; and the Bishop of Moray at Elgin, to give obedience to the said act; which, if they refuse to do, that the said Assemblies shall appoint certain brethren of their ministry to

give them public admonition out of the pulpit, and warn them, in case they disobey, to appear before the next General Assembly, to hear the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them¹.

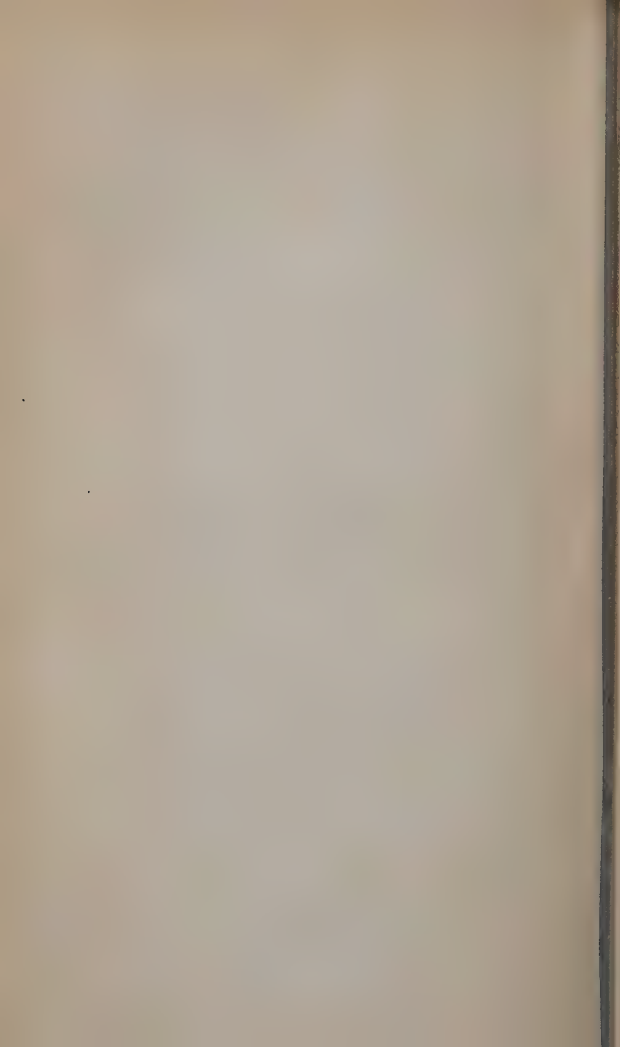
It is not possible to imagine that the clergy were insensible to the unconstitutional nature of their proceedings. The King had intreated them, as in a period of great difficulty, to suspend their altercations relative to the Church, and to direct their efforts to the preservation of peace. But, instead of yielding obedience to their youthful sovereign, they boldly assumed the whole authority of the state, set Parliament at defiance, and dictated to both the one and the other, the line of conduct which it behoved them to pursue. It has been well observed that, under an able and vigorous prince, in full possession of his prerogative, such an ordinance as that lately passed by the Assembly would have been regarded as the signal for rebellion; for, by whatever motives the ministers were actuated, he would have found it indispensable to assert his authority, and not to permit the existence of a faction who, although professing to confine themselves to ecclesiastical arrangements, would, it is probable, very soon so far enlarge their pretensions as to object to every measure which did not originate in their own councils. In the divided state of the kingdom, however, and amidst the cabals of a feeble court, the clergy dreaded no such resistance; and accordingly, as if they had not deviated in the smallest degree from their duty to James, they

¹ Spotswood, p. 311. Calderwood, p. 90.

appointed some of the brethren to wait upon him “with all due humility and reverence,” as they were pleased to express it, and to ask in the name of concession what they had already determined to extort by violence¹.

¹ Cook, i. p. 326 ; and Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 215.

END OF VOL. I.



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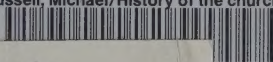
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